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FURTHER STUDIES
IN THE
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POLIS



FRANZ STEINER VERLAG STUTTGART
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FRANZ STEINER VERLAG STUTTGART
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CONVENTIONS AND ABBREVIATIONS

1. References to Greek authors follow the abbreviations of *OCD*³. For references to Jacoby's *Fragmente*, we print *e.g.*: Ar(i)aithos (*FGrHist* 316) fr. 6.
2. References to inscriptions follow the conventions of *SEG*.
3. Citations of modern works follow the abbreviations of *American Journal of Archaeology* (1991).
4. All dates are B.C. unless otherwise stated. Centuries are abbreviated C6, C5, C4 (= 6th, 5th, 4th cent. B.C.). C5e (= early fifth cent. B.C.), C5f (= first half of the fifth cent. B.C.), C5m (= the middle of the fifth cent. B.C.), C5s (= second half of the fifth cent. B.C.), C5l (= late fifth cent. B.C.)
5. Publications of the Polis Centre are referred to in the following way:

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| <i>CPCActs</i> 1 | (1993) = M.H. Hansen (ed.), <i>The Ancient Greek City-State</i> . Acts of the Copenhagen Polis Centre 1. Det Kongelige Danske Videnskabernes Selskab, Historisk-filosofiske Meddelelser 67 (Copenhagen 1993). |
| <i>CPCActs</i> 2 | (1995) = M.H. Hansen (ed.), <i>Sources for the Ancient Greek City-State</i> . Acts of the Copenhagen Polis Centre 2. Det Kongelige Danske Videnskabernes Selskab, Historisk-filosofiske Meddelelser 72 (Copenhagen 1995). |
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| <i>CPCActs</i> 5 | M.H. Hansen, <i>Polis and City-State. An Ancient Concept and its Modern Equivalent</i> . Acts of the Copenhagen Polis Centre 5. Det Kongelige Danske Videnskabernes Selskab, Historisk-filosofiske Meddelelser 76 (Copenhagen 1998). |

- CPCActs* 6 (1999) = T.H. Nielsen & J. Roy (eds.), *Defining Ancient Arkadia*. Acts of the Copenhagen Polis Centre 6. Det Kongelige Danske Videnskabernes Selskab, Historisk-filosofiske Meddelelser 78 (Copenhagen 1999).
- CPCPapers* 1 (1994) = D. Whitehead (ed.), *From Political Architecture to Stephanus Byzantius. Sources for the Ancient Greek Polis*. Papers from the Copenhagen Polis Centre 1. *Historia Einzelschriften* 87 (Stuttgart 1994).
- CPCPapers* 2 (1995) = M.H. Hansen & K. Raaflaub (eds.), *Studies in the Ancient Greek Polis*. Papers from the Copenhagen Polis Centre 2. *Historia Einzelschriften* 95 (Stuttgart 1995).
- CPCPapers* 3 (1996) = M.H. Hansen & K. Raaflaub (eds.), *More Studies in the Ancient Greek Polis*. Papers from the Copenhagen Polis Centre 3. *Historia Einzelschriften* 108 (Stuttgart 1996).
- CPCPapers* 4 (1997) = T.H. Nielsen (ed.), *Yet More Studies in the Ancient Greek Polis*. Papers from the Copenhagen Polis Centre 4. *Historia Einzelschriften* 117 (Stuttgart 1997).

GREEK DEITIES: LOCAL AND PANHELLENIC IDENTITIES

by

ALBERT SCHACHTER

This began as an enquiry into the fact that the Hellenes were capable of attributing to their gods both local and panhellenic identities. Ancient Greeks seem to have had no difficulty in identifying gods whom they worshipped within their own communities with those in the panhellenic pantheon, while recognising that their local gods were somehow different from the standard model. *Iliad* 6¹ shows that they accepted that one of their own gods (here Athena, *poliouchos* of Troy) could turn against them and favour their enemies, that is, that a god could have both parochial and broader interests. On the other hand, it was generally recognised that gods could and often did have features peculiar to a specific region. Epithets were one way of identifying characteristics exhibited by a god of the pantheon in one or more but not all of the places in which he was worshipped. Some were topographical, identifying an Olympian with a local place (e.g. Dionysos Kadmeios, Apollo Ptoieus); others emphasise the feature or characteristic of the god which was most important in the local context (e.g. Dionysos Aisymnetes); in other cases, the best known or a very well known epithet from an important centre of cult was used as a device to identify the local version of the god with the most famous exemplar (Apollo Pythios, Zeus Olympios, Demeter Eleusinia). Occasionally, the local flavour was so strong that the panhellenic name became the epithet (e.g. Eukleia Artemis).

The absence of an official panhellenic hierarchy, the abundance of separate sanctuaries devoted to the same gods in different places, the intimate connection of most of these – not to mention heroes – to the community to which their worshippers belonged – family, clan, *polis*, *ethnos*, *koinon* –, all these direct our attention to the separateness of Greek cult. Given its environment of separate, independent, antagonistic states, Greek religious life ought to have been just as particularist, just as locally focussed, as other aspects of Greek society. And yet, this was not so. There was considerable common ground among the Hellenes in their cults. Many rituals ignored political borders; the most widespread were those marking salient points in the agricultural cycle, particularly those aimed at ensuring the preservation of the seed corn in early summer and the sowing of the seed in autumn. Rituals associated with each of these critical events are found throughout the Hellenic world, under different names, but mostly within the sphere of Demeter. The most common rite of Demeter was the Thesmophoria, celebrated throughout the Hellenic world, but not everywhere at the same time of year. The temporal variation of Thesmophoria is an excellent example of the underlying unity of belief coexisting with strong local pre-

1 269–311, esp. 311 (ὡς ἔφατ' εὐχομένη, ἀνένευε δὲ Παλλὰς Ἀθήνη).

ferences. Greek religious practice falls somewhere between political separatism and ethnic unity. In this respect, it is not very different from the modern world, where conformity in cult coexists with political diversity and antagonism. The thoroughness with which cult/religious uniformity overrode regional differences (political, dialectal, and ethnic) is remarkable, and suggests that this aspect of it was not so much a new development as a recognition of old underlying similarities.

An important factor in what might be called a “homogenisation” of Greek culture during the Archaic period was the panhellenic sanctuaries of Olympia, Delphi, and Delos. It is these to which Herodotos refers at 8.144.2: τὸ Ἑλληνικόν, ἐὼν ὁμαιμόν τε καὶ ὁμόγλωσσον, καὶ θεῶν ἰδρύματά τε κοινὰ καὶ θυσίαι ἥθεά τε ὁμότροπα, freely translated:

The fact that we are Hellenes, that is, we have the same blood and the same language, we share sanctuaries and festivals of gods, we have the same way of looking at life.

Herodotos does not say that the Hellenes had the same religion. His use of κοινά, shared, sets the sanctuaries and festivals apart from background, language, and attitude, which he did see as identical and for which he employed adjectives compounded with ὁμο-. The shared sanctuaries and festivals he had in mind were probably specific places and events, the great panhellenic sanctuaries and the festivals celebrated there. It is early stirrings of panhellenism which are to be sensed here.

These great interstate sanctuaries – Olympia, Delphi, Delos – began their mediating rôle early on, and were one of the signifiers of the so-called Greek “renaissance” of the Archaic period. These were places situated at the confluence of long-distance routes for the transfer of beasts in search of pasture, and the movement of people in search of a place to live or to find fortune. It has been argued² that the reason these sanctuaries became important interstate centres was precisely because they were on the peripheries of the Hellenic world, and were not bound to any one of the emergent states which were the powers of the day, specifically Korinthos, Argos, Sparta, Athens. In a sense this is true: Olympia was peripheral to Sparta, Argos, and the Hellenic settlements in the West; Delphi was peripheral to emerging *poleis*, which are clustered in the southern and eastern regions of the mainland; and Delos was on the periphery of major settlements of Ionic-speaking Hellenes. But there was more to it. These three sanctuaries were not only peripheral, they were also “medial”, acting as way stations for traffic in people, beasts, and goods. We may contrast Dodona, whose oracle was panhellenic in stature, but which never rose to the same prominence as the others, because it was only a peripheral site. Contrast also Isthmia and Nemea, whose medial position alone did not suffice to elevate them to the same level as the big three.

The other great homogenising force was the poems of Hesiod and Homer, of whom Herodotos wrote (2.53.2): οὗτοι δὲ εἰσι οἱ ποιήσαντες θεογονίην Ἑλλησι καὶ τοῖσι θεοῖσι τὰς ἐπωνυμίας δόντες καὶ τιμάς τε καὶ τέχνας διελόντες καὶ εἶδεα αὐτῶν σημήναντες.

2 E.g. A.M. Snodgrass, *Archaic Greece* (Berkeley & Los Angeles 1980) 55.

These (i.e. Hesiod and Homer) are the ones who created a theogony for the Hellenes, gave the gods their epithets, assigned their areas of activity and expertise, and described their appearance.

Herodotos does not say that Hesiod and Homer created the pantheon, but that they provided the gods with family trees – which the Hellenes would appreciate – and assigned to each a set of identifying characteristics: descriptive epithets based on their attributes and regular behaviour, a share in the governance of the universe, and a recognisable persona.³

The poems made it easier for people to identify local deities with panhellenic ones, i.e. those in the poems, but they were not responsible for the phenomenon. The Greeks were already predisposed to it. Homer and Hesiod were not revolutionary or proselytising poets – they composed and performed for an audience who already lived within the cultural, social, religious framework in which the poems were set: they did not invent the gods; whatever influence they had, was on subsequent generations who were looking consciously for a Hellenic identity.

But aside from the panhellenic sanctuaries and the influence of the poems of Hesiod and Homer, there was also “a common religious tradition”.⁴ Hellenic Greece did not spring from nothing; it may or may not be appropriate to apply the Big Bang theory to the origins of the *polis*, but it would certainly be misleading to apply it to the whole of Greek culture and society. The process was much more long-drawn-out, a complex intertwining of survival and discontinuity. The development of the Hellenic civilization must be seen as part of a continuum, stretching unbroken from the Bronze Age into the Archaic period. The so-called Dark Age did not separate the Mycenaean from the Hellenic periods, it joined them. In order to understand how the Hellenes thought of their gods, we have to begin as far back in the past as we can. Our search is limited by the availability of usable data, in the form of contemporary written records. This gives as a starting point the Mycenaean period, which provides the earliest written and decipherable records.

We shall never be able to understand fully the religious life of the Mycenaean Greeks, or indeed any other facet of their culture, but the growing register of divine names in Linear B documents is in itself a valuable tool, which allows us to begin to identify and track the elements of Mycenaean culture which may have survived the breakdown of its administrative superstructure, and formed part of the foundation of the Hellenic civilization which emerged from the ruins.

Recent and continuing discoveries from Mycenaean Thebes are especially valuable, in large part because Thebes was the only major Mycenaean centre which was also an important Hellenic *polis*, with the result that it is almost the only place where it is possible actually to reconstruct to some extent the fate of its population, both human and divine.⁵ Mycenaean Thebes directly controlled an area much greater than that held by its Hellenic successor. Linear B records at Thebes suggest that the kingdom of the *wanax* of the palace stretched east and southeastward onto Euboea,

3 See W. Burkert, *Greek Religion* (Oxford 1985) 119–125.

4 As Robert Parker puts it in *Athenian Religion, a History* (Oxford 1996) 3.

5 See, for example, note 8 *infra*.

west at least as far as the heights of Helikon, north to include Mt. Ptoion, south at least as far as Mt. Kithairon.⁶ By contrast, Hellenic Thebes exercised firm control only as far east as the uplands between it and Tanagra, west to the territory of Thespiiai, north to Mt. Ptoion, and south to the river Asopos. Theban attempts to encroach upon its neighbours to the west (Thespiiai), south (Plataiai), and southeast (Oropos), and the hostility they engendered, colour much of ancient Boiotian history.

Of the deities named in Linear B documents from Thebes, only one cannot – (yet) – be connected with a Hellenic descendant. Several tablets record shipments of material to gods or their sanctuaries: Hera (Of28), Hermes (Of31), the Woikos of Potnia (Of36), Komawenteia (Of35), Marineus (Of25 and 35). One of the clay nodules incised with Linear B characters (Wu94β) names as its destination a place called /Hapha/ or /Haphai/. Another tablet (Fq121) records dedications to what seems to have been a triad: Ma-Ka, O-po-re, Ko-wa, and others refer to shipments Ptoiade, Teleiade, for the Ptoia, for the Teleia.⁷

It is interesting to see how these Mycenaean deities and festivals re-emerge at the other end of the tunnel in the Hellenic period. For example, Hera and Hermes were not important in Hellenic Thebes: on the other hand, Hera was the *poliouchos* of Plataiai and was worshipped as Hera Kithaironia both there and on the eastern and southern flanks of the Helikon massif, while Hermes was the *poliouchos* – a rare case of a god rather than a goddess – of Tanagra.⁸ The territories of these *poleis* having been part of the kingdom of the *wanax* of Mycenaean Thebes, it seems likely that the Bronze Age worshippers of these gods had lived in the same region as their Hellenic successors.

The Woikos of Potnia may have been in the southern suburb of Potnia, where there were sanctuaries and rites of Demeter and Kore, and Dionysos.

Komawenteia, who occurs in a religious context at Pylos as well, might have been a daughter of Poseidon: at Thebes, she would have been connected with Poseidon at Onchestos. It may be significant that this Poseidon was tended by a priestess, as at Kalaureia: perhaps this was a survival from the Bronze Age.⁹

6 B. Sergent would extend the boundaries even further: “Les petits nodules et la grande Béotie (première partie)”, *REA* 96 (1994) 365–384, and “Les petits nodules et la grande Béotie (deuxième partie)”, *REA* 99 (1997) 11–32.

7 The name Ma-ka appears by itself on several other Theban tablets, as well as a tablet from Knossos (F51), where it is paired with Di-we.

See L. Godart and A. Sacconi, “Les dieux thébains dans les archives mycéniennes”, *CRAI* (1996) 99–113; L. Godart & A. Sacconi, “La triade tebana nei documenti in Lineare B del Palazzo di Cadmo”, *RAL* 9.7.2 (1996) 283–285; V. Aravantinos, L. Godart, A. Sacconi, “Sui nuovi testi del palazzo di Cadmo a Teba. Note preliminari”, *RAL* 9.5.6 (1995) 809–845, esp. 833–838; L. Godart and A. Sacconi, “Les archives de Thèbes et le monde mycénien”, *CRAI* (1997 [1998]) 889–906. My interpretation of the material differs somewhat from theirs.

8 A. Schachter, *Cults of Boiotia*, *BICS* Suppl. 38.2 (London 1986) 47.

9 R.A. Sucharski (“KO-MA-WE-TE-JA”, *Eos* 81 [1993] 177–181). Cf. J. Chadwick, in Th.G. Spyropoulos and J. Chadwick, *The Thebes Tablets II: Minos Supplement 4* (Salamanca 1975) 94–95.

Marineus appears at Knossos as well as Thebes; the Theban Marineus seems to have been located on the island of Euboia. He is the only one of these deities for whom a Hellenic identity does not spring readily to mind.¹⁰

The place /Hapha-i/, to which a female goat was sent, may have been a sanctuary of a goddess called *Haphaia, that is, Aphaia. One thinks immediately of the Aiginetan Aphaia. A Hellenic Theban goddess with similar attributes, that is, a *kourotrophos* who vanishes from human sight, was Ino-Leukothea. The names "Aphaia" and "Leukothea", "the one who is very visible", or "clear", or "bright" on the one hand, and "the shining" or "brilliant goddess" on the other, have almost identical meanings. The pair of *kourotrophos* goddess and child god recurs throughout central and western Boiotia: it is difficult to avoid the speculation that they were all descended from the same Mycenaean ancestors.

Of the triad Ma-Ka, O-po-re, and Ko-wa, it is suggested that Ma-Ka = Mā Gā, that is, Mother Earth. Ga is attested as an independent figure of cult at Thebes both in inscriptions and in Euripides, who equates her with Demeter. Ko-wa is clearly Kora/Kore. The Hellenic *poliouchos* of Thebes was – again unusually – Demeter Thesmophoros, the bi-form goddess, and it would appear that she took over, but not entirely, the rôle of the Mycenaean Ma-Ka and Ko-wa.¹¹

The name of the other member of the triad, O-po-re, surfaces in the fifth century BC as an epithet of Zeus at Akraiphia. This is Zeus as the farmer's god, who fosters the growth of crops. At Thebes O-po-re was displaced by another Hellenic god of fertility, Dionysos, who is described by Pindar as being Demeter's *πάρεδρος* at Thebes. It was perhaps the influence of the Theban triad which produced the same grouping of Demeter, Kore, and Dionysos at Potniai, with Demeter taking over from both Ma-Ga and Potnia.¹²

The two Bronze Age festivals – Ptoia and Teleia – survived into or were revived in the Hellenic period as the Ptoia on Mount Ptoion north of Thebes and the Daidala on Mount Kithairon to the south. Their existence in the Bronze Age confirms Theban control over the territory in which they were celebrated. The Hellenic Ptoia probably began as part of the cult of the hero Ptoios, and were later taken over by the cult of Apollo, possibly not before the last quarter of the third century BC. The Daidala were celebrated in honour of Hera, one of whose epithets at Plataiai was Teleia.¹³ The later Hellenes interpreted this as Hera the Mature, and also gave her the epithet Nympheuomene: it may have been this interpretation which gave rise to the whole fiction of the mock marriage by which they interpreted the Daidala procession. But Teleia also has to do with "belonging", in the sense of being a member

10 J. Chadwick, in Th.G. Spyropoulos and J. Chadwick, *The Thebes Tablets II: Minos Supplement* 4 (Salamanca 1975) 91 and 106.

11 Mā Gā: Aesch. *Supp.* 890 = 900.

Inscriptions: *IG* VII 2452 (corrected by A.D. Keramopoulos, *ADelt* 3 [1917] 354: *ἡπαρὸν γὰρ μακαίρας τελεσσφόρο*).

Eur. *Phoen.* 683-686: *διώνυμοι θεαί / Περσέφασσα καὶ φίλα / Δαμάτηρ θεά / πάντων ἄνασσα / πάντων δὲ γὰρ τροφός*.

12 Zeus Oporous: *IG* VII 2733. Pind. *Isthm.* 1.3-5.

13 A. Schachter, *Cults of Boiotia, BICS* Suppl. 38.1 (London 1981) 245.

of an association (a τέλος) of communities. It may go some way towards explaining the “pan-Boiotian” nature of the Daidala procession as well as the term συντέλεια, which described the Boiotian league of the Classical period. The Teleia of the Mycenaean period may have been a celebration bringing together inhabitants of all or at least part of the territory controlled by the Theban *wanax*, just as the later Heraia of Argos were used as a means of expressing Argive sovereignty over the Argive Plain and its surroundings.

What happened at Thebes prompts the following observations:

- 1) a substantial part of the Mycenaean population survived *in situ*: it is, after all, not the gods, but their worshippers who stay or leave;
- 2) some gods worshipped in the Mycenaean period disappeared, or at least left no visible trace: the only example of this at Thebes is Marineus, and, if it is correct to suppose that he was localised on Euboia, it may well be that there was a successor there;
- 3) some gods – or at least their names – survived intact: Hera, Hermes, Ga, Kore, possibly Poseidon (Komawenteia);
- 4) some were absorbed into the orbit of other gods, probably as a reflection of the changed preoccupation of the dominant class from the preservation of the royal prerogative of the ruling *wanax* to the protection of the status of ruling landowners: thus Demeter became both *poliouchos* and patron of agriculture, partly displacing both Ma-Ga and Potnia, while *Oporeus gave way to two agricultural gods, being displaced at Thebes by Dionysos, and at Akraiphia absorbed into the cult of Zeus;
- 5) others – the Theban example is Haphaia – reappear later under different names in different parts of the territory;
- 6) although there is a tendency towards fragmentation – e.g. Haphaia, *Oporeus, Hera, Hermes, the Ptoia – which reflects the effects of the breakdown of the central palatial authority, the survival of at least one regional festival, the Teleia, suggests that remembrance of things past did not entirely die out;
- 7) one notes the relative obscurity of Artemis; in Hellenic Boiotia she is liminary, on the seaboard at Aulis and elsewhere, inland at Tilphossion; Poseidon at Onchestos, for whom there is possible evidence in the form of Komawenteia, possesses the only other properly liminary sanctuary of Hellenic Boiotia, separating the territories of Thebes and Orchomenos; but there is nothing between Thebes/Tanagra, Thebes/Plataiai, Thebes/Thespiiai: perhaps Thebes still laid claim to all three;
- 8) the principal deities of Hellenic Thebes who do not have a Mycenaean pedigree of some sort were Apollo, Aphrodite, Herakles, and the Kabiroi. Apollo and Aphrodite were inextricably associated with the early stages of the *polis* as an institution: Apollo was the patron of the ruling cadre of the state, while Aphrodite was patron of the magistrature.¹⁴ The sanctuary of Apollo was the focal point of an Archaic *polis*: at Thebes, as at other former Mycenaean sites, it was situated peripherally to the Mycenaean centre, in this case at the Ismenion, southeast of the Kadmeia and well away from it. The importance of Aphrodite in Archaic Greek *poleis*, and particularly at Thebes, provides a clue to how the institution of the *polis* may have spread

throughout the early Hellenic world. Aphrodite was the *poliouchos* of Korinthos,¹⁵ an early champion of the Delphic Apollo, and a source of constitutional expertise in the critical period when city-states were taking shape and their rulers establishing their legitimacy. It is possible that the Pythian Apollo's pre-eminent position as patron and rôle model for the ruling aristocrats of a *polis* was based upon the rôle he played in early Korinthos.

As for Herakles and the Kabiroi at Thebes, they can best be regarded as gods imported by new migrants, Tirynthian exiles late in the eighth century, Greeks from the Asiatic seaboard at about the same time;

9) we may note also the relative unimportance in Hellenic Thebes of Athena, whose rôle as protectress of the city is assumed by Demeter. To be sure, there were sanctuaries of Athena, at least one associated with one of the two foundation legends of the *polis*, but she never really caught on at Thebes.¹⁶

To sum up, the major deities of the Hellenic period in the region previously controlled by Mycenaean Thebes can be divided into four groups: those who survived directly, at least in name, from the Bronze Age (Hera, Hermes, Ga, Poseidon?); those who survived under slightly different guises (Haphaia, *Oporeus); those who were displaced by gods newly popular (not necessarily "new") (*Oporeus and Zeus/Dionysos, Potnia and Ma-Ga and Demeter); those introduced in the Archaic period (Apollo, Aphrodite, Herakles, Kabiroi).

The question is, can what is observable at Thebes be extrapolated to other areas of the Greek world? There is no way of checking, since Thebes is unique, but it is as likely as not.

The relative importance of several gods of the pantheon changed in response to the change from a palace-based, *wanax*-focussed polity, whose chief gods represented the self-image and aspirations of the monarch, to a society in which wealth and power were based on the possession and working of land: so Zeus, Demeter, and Dionysos were more important to Hellenic Greeks than, for example, Poseidon.

Apollo himself embodied the sovereignty of the new ruling class, land-based potentates who legitimated their claim to dominance by the patronage of the god of the governing assembly, whose favouring word was granted through his mouth-piece at Delphi; in individual states, the oracular Apollo tended to supplant local deities, some of them gods, some heroes, usually by making Apollo their father,¹⁷ thereby attaching to the ruling group both local sentiment and panhellenic prestige; at a lower level, that of the magistrature, Aphrodite and her consort Ares/Enyalios, became the patrons of the governing as opposed to ruling class.

There were other deities, either single or in groups, and rituals common to a fairly widespread area, not limited to any one region or jurisdiction, but whose local identities remained so strong that the underlying similarity was seldom noticed or made much of. Here we can group the various dioskouric pairs, both male and fe-

15 Schachter (*supra* n. 16) 14.

16 For the Boiotian cults see A. Schachter, *Cults of Boiotia* (London 1981-).

17 As, to give a Boiotian example, at the Ptoion: see *Cults of Boiotia* 1 s.v. "Apollo (Ptoion)", and 3 s.v. "Ptoios, Hero (Ptoion)".

male, female trinities, the combination of mother and infant or *kourotrophos* and *kouros*, and such rites as the Daidala of southern Boiotia and the Heraia of Argos.

Another of the defining features of the Hellenic renaissance was, it is generally agreed, the appearance of the worship of heroes. Heroes were for the most part bound to a limited area: many were either anonymous or identified as residing in a specific place (e.g. the hero of Marathon, the hero of Mount Ptoion, the hero of the race course at Korinthos).

By their very nature, individual heroes being closely tied to the place and people who worshipped them, heroes embody the particularist, separatist tendencies of the emerging Hellenic society. But the idea of a hero as a figure of cult is every bit as much a panhellenic one as that of the Olympian gods, and it appears to be another strand in the underlying unity of Hellenic culture. In this respect, unnamed heroes are most important, because they reflect the generalised and widespread existence of the concept despite the isolation of their worshippers from other Hellenes. Perhaps heroes should be thought of as having something in common with the cult groups to whom I alluded above, deities of similar type but with names varying geographically. Occasionally, as with Herakles, Asklepios, and the Dioskouroi, heroes did acquire a panhellenic following.

The evidence from the Mycenaean pantheon reveals the certainty of more continuity in cult than in almost every other sphere, except language itself. The idea of a deity who is bound both to the people and to the place, who mediates between the two, would seem to be so basic that it is hard to believe that it developed so late and so casually. All the evidence for Mycenaean cult activity comes from palace and administrative centres, and reflects the interests of the ruling class. Hero cult, on the other hand, would have been something which people at the grass roots were involved in, rather than their lords and masters, and is therefore less likely to be noticed in palace documents (although there is the mysterious TrisHerōs at Knossos [TN 316] and Pylos [PY fr. 1204]).

Conclusion

In general, we can observe, even without clear traces in any given case, that the principal gods of the pantheon survived the breakdown of the palace based structure; less important ones either disappeared from the records or survived in pockets in temporarily isolated communities. When we examine the situation in the Hellenic period, we observe that the divinities worshipped by any formally constituted community ranged from the strictly local – mostly heroes – to gods such as Asklepios, and in the Hellenistic and Roman periods, the Egyptian gods, who had very few if any local characteristics. Between the two extremes there were the gods of the pantheon, the Olympians, whose worship in different parts of the Hellenic world is often a matter of survival from at least the Bronze Age; as contact among the scattered communities was re-established, the Hellenic as opposed to local nature of these gods asserted itself, and such local elements as survived were traces rather than predominant features. Here Hesiod and Homer can be credited with standardising – even homogenising – the gods of the Hellenes.

The mixture of underlying unity with regional and local variations was caused at least in part by the centrifugal development of communities, beginning from a nucleus around a local power base – chieftain or leading family – and moving outwards from there to take in and take over as much territory as possible, eventually to collide with neighbours doing more or less the same thing. This process has antagonism built into it, and it is not difficult in the circumstances to account for the growing importance of Artemis – the goddess whose domain was the dangerous transitions of life, at birth, puberty, and death – as protectress of *eschatiai* and desperate ends. Here she forms a balance with Apollo, protector of the state as an ordered entity, who, perhaps for this reason, became her brother.

The Greek renaissance of the Archaic period was therefore not only the birth of a new order but also a re-establishment of broken contacts from the old.

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HELLENES AND ACHAIANS: 'GREEK NATIONALITY' REVISITED

by

FRANK W. WALBANK

I

I have given this paper, which deals mainly with Hellenes and Achaians, the subtitle of 'Greek Nationality' revisited. The Greek nationality I am revisiting (though only briefly) is the subject of a paper I wrote long ago in 1951, entitled "The Problem of Greek Nationality".¹ I gave it at the general meeting of the Classical Association held that year in Liverpool and in it I discussed and criticised a view prevalent at that time, that Greek history could be usefully interpreted in terms of "a struggle for Greek unity" and the failure of Greeks to set up a Greek nation. This seemed to me rather an absurd theory for several reasons. One was that to apply the modern idea of a nation to ancient Greece was patently anachronistic. The "panhellenic" note which can be detected in, for instance, the *Lysistrata*, the Olympian speeches of Gorgias and Lysias or the writings of Isokrates had nothing to do with such a concept. Nor did it seem reasonable to assess people in terms of what they *failed* to accomplish.

Today, indeed, such an approach to Greek history must seem strangely out-of-date. Although it was adopted at that time by such distinguished historians as Gaetano De Sanctis in Italy and Max Cary in England, its real origins lay in the drive to create a united Germany in the nineteenth century and the nationalism of Bismarck's *Reich*. Perhaps that discussion about a Greek nation is mainly important to us today as a reminder of how much our preoccupations as historians may later be seen to have reflected contemporary issues. To take a modern example, have the problems of Northern Ireland and former Yugoslavia nothing at all to do with our current interest in ethnicity?

Certainly "ethnicity", however we define it, has taken the place of "nationality" as a historian's tool for interpreting Greek history and trying to understand how Greeks saw themselves. An impressive amount of work has been done in this field in recent decades, especially by Catherine Morgan and Jonathan Hall,² to help us to understand what it meant to be an Ionian, an Aiolian, a Dorian or an Achaian. They – and they are not of course alone – have shown convincingly that the identities of these branches of the Hellenic people are often to be seen as something "essentially changing, flexible and negotiable" and in some cases as comparatively late con-

1 Walbank (1951).

2 Morgan (1991); Morgan and Hall (1996); Hall (1997); cf. Gschnitzer (1955); Beck (1997).

structs rather than clearly fixed and inherited. The relationship between the specific political institutions which we encounter at particular dates and their actual (in contrast to their supposed) origins has been illuminated by scholars working in many different fields such as archaeology, linguistics and religion. A special interest has also been generated in the many problems surrounding the early *polis* – how it should be defined, how, when and why it arose, and how it relates to so-called ethnic communities like early Achaia. For example, to take the case of Achaia, was the federal body, which was made up of some dozen *poleis*, and which we know as the Achaian League, a late construct or did it develop out of an earlier, perhaps at one stage a village organisation?

2

In this paper I have a particular interest. I want to consider first whether and to what extent recent work on ethnicity, which has been more obviously concerned with Archaic Greece, can contribute anything to our understanding of the Achaian League in the Hellenistic period. Further, I want to argue that the consciousness of being an Achaian dates from a time well before the political organisation of the Hellenistic Achaian League and that the main deities of the confederation, Zeus Homarios and to a lesser extent Athena Homaria, who play a large part in defining Achaian identity, continued to be important down to the time of the Roman Empire, when they could be invoked in order to express or revive a consciousness of that identity.

The answer to my first problem is not clear cut, for the reconstruction of the Achaian League in 280 took place in a new world of Hellenistic monarchies, which was radically changing the context in which such groups as the Achaians or the Aitolians operated. It was a world too where in Ptolemaic Egypt, for instance, the very definition of Hellene was to some extent losing its ethnic connotation and even becoming a tax category, occupied by some who might enjoy a dual life-style and bear both a Greek and an Egyptian name.³ If “Greek” can mean something quite different, what about “Achaian”? My question about the relevance of work on ethnicity is, I think, a real one, in as much as it remains true that ways of thinking, in which genealogy, myth, location and cult all have an important role, are not restricted to Archaic and Classical Greece. In the late third century, for instance, the Dorians of Kytinion in Doris, ravaged by Antigonos III of Macedonia, following an earthquake, appeal with apparent confidence for a contribution towards the rebuilding of their shattered walls to Xanthos in Karia on grounds of kinship – though admittedly the contribution they elicited was rather small.⁴ But, as we can see from Cohen’s new catalogue of Hellenic settlements,⁵ the years after Alexander saw a great outburst of new foundations throughout the near and middle east, each with its relevant cults and often asserted ethnic links. And divine descent, a basic element in the background of Homeric society and in most myths dealing with ethnic origins,

3 Thompson (1992).

4 J. Bousquet, *REG* 101 (1988) 12–53; cf. Walbank, *ZPE* 76 (1989) 184–92.

5 Cohen (1995).

crops up again in the constructed genealogies of many Hellenistic dynastic families. The Kytinion inscription, for example, refers to Ptolemy Philopator's kinship with the Argeads, descendants of Herakles.

So my object here is to take a look at the Achaian League. The name Achaia has a resonance which goes back to Homer, who uses it of the Greeks at Troy, and subsequently echoes throughout Greek history. Legend brought the Achaians, expelled by the Dorians from Argos and Sparta, to the shores of the Korinthian Gulf, which they took over from the Ionians.⁶ We may not believe this story. But the Greeks believed it and its political repercussions are well illustrated by the story in Herodotos of how the Spartan king Kleomenes pressed his (unsuccessful) claim to sacrifice on the Athenian akropolis with the assertion "I am not a Dorian, but an Achaian".⁷ Later the Achaians who inhabited this area figure as an important power in Hellenistic Greece. And their name was still there to describe the province which incorporated most of Greece within the Roman Empire. For over a century before the débâcle of 146 the Achaian League controlled the whole of the Peloponnese – though not always without encountering resistance. One does not have to believe the nineteenth-century myth about the struggle to win Greek unity to recognise that throughout Greek history the particularism of the Greek cities exacted a terrible price. In his chapter in Oswyn Murray's and Simon Price's recent book on *The Greek City* Nicholas Purcell remarks: "the *polis* in general, one might say, was a cul-de-sac, an unhelpful response to the challenge of Mediterranean reality, if building large and relatively harmonious and inclusive societies is a worth-while goal".⁸ It is from this perspective that the Achaian League seems to have been, on the whole, a rather admirable institution. Its early history and development is, however, somewhat more complicated than I realised when I first started working on it.

3

Before coming to the Hellenistic Achaian League, reorganised in 280, I must digress a little to examine that earlier history; and on this subject we are fortunate to have an excellent study by Catherine Morgan and Jonathan Hall, to which I owe a considerable debt.⁹ A basic question is: when did Achaia become organised as a federal league of cities rather than functioning simply as an *ethnos*? Here I have in mind the distinction made in Aristotle's *Politics*,¹⁰ where he contrasts "an *ethnos* in which people are scattered in villages and one in which they are like the Arkadians" – which must mean one in which they are settled in cities organised to form a federal state, as was the case in Arkadia after the fourth-century synoecism of Megalopolis and the defeat of Sparta at Leuktra in 371. The appearance of cities within an *ethnos* need not of course coincide with or even lead to their union within a federal body.

6 Paus. 8.1ff.

7 Hdt. 5.72; cf. Parker (1998), especially Appendix, 27–33.

8 Murray and Price (1991) 58.

9 Morgan and Hall (1996) 164–232.

10 Arist. *Pol.* 1261a27.

When regular cities first arose in Achaia is highly controversial.¹¹ Morgan and Hall have argued strongly that it was no earlier than the fifth century. Herodotos, it is true, tells us that Achaia is “now” – presumably sometime in the second half of the fifth century – divided into twelve parts (μέρεα)¹² – which does not sound exactly like “twelve *poleis*”, except that, like Strabo, who also speaks of Achaian μέρη or μερίδες,¹³ he gives them the names of known Achaian cities. Moreover, we know the names and cities – if indeed they were already organised cities – of the Achaian *oikistai* of Sybaris, Kroton and Kaulonia in southern Italy, which were founded in the eighth and seventh centuries.¹⁴ They are, respectively, Ois of Helike, Myskellos of Rhypes and Typhon of Aigion;¹⁵ Aigion of course continued to be a leading city throughout Achaian history. In another passage Strabo tells us that Aigion was a synoecism of seven or eight *demoi* – which are probably villages – Patrai of seven and Dyme of eight.¹⁶ So perhaps we should think of some sort of protracted process in the transformation of village communities to cities, with a stage representing what Strabo here calls συστήματα δήμων, village structures. There is evidence from elsewhere that such communities would not necessarily be without a capacity for political action.¹⁷

Archaeological work certainly suggests a late development of what Morgan calls “high-order sites” in Achaia; and we can, I think, accept the view of Morgan and Hall that we have no firm archaeological evidence for fully organised *poleis* before 500. For the fourth century there is, of course, plenty of evidence both for separate cities and for their combination in a league. From Xenophon we know that the Aitolian city of Kalydon across the Korinthian Gulf was a member of the Achaian League before 389¹⁸ and Pellene in 370/69;¹⁹ also that the Achaian cities were allied to Korinthos after Leuktra in 371.²⁰ Both Aristotle and Dikaiarchos wrote *Constitutions* of Pellene;²¹ and an inscription records envoys from Pellene being

11 See Beck (1997); Funke (1993); Gawantka (1985); Gschnitzer (1955); Koerner (1974); Morgan and Hall (1996); Rizakis (1990); Snodgrass (1991) 1–23.

12 Hdt. 1.145 κατά περ νῦν Ἀχαιῶν τῶν ἐξελασάντων Ἴωνας δωδέκα ἐστὶ μέρη, “just as there are now twelve parts of the Achaians, who drove out the Ionians”. He goes on to list Pellene, Aigeira, Aigai, Bura, Helike, Aigion, Rhypes, Patrai, Pharai, Olenos, Dyme and Tri-taia.

13 Strabo 8.7.4.

14 Foundation of Sybaris: Strabo 6.1.13; Kroton: Strabo 6.1.12; Kaulonia: Strabo 6.1.10.

15 Ois (Bérard reads <Συβαρις>) of Helike for Sybaris: Strabo 6.1.13; Myskellos of Rhypes for Kroton: Antiochos of Syracuse, *FGHist* 555 fr. 10 = Strabo 6.1.12; Typhon of Aigion for Kaulonia: Paus. 6.3.12.

16 Strabo 8.3.2; cf. Sakellariou (1989) 317–20.

17 Cf. SVA 110 for a treaty of c.500 between Heraia and Elis before Elis was an organised *polis*; cf. Sakellariou (1989) 76, 318.

18 Xen. *Hell.* 4.6.

19 Xen. *Hell.* 6.5.29.

20 Xen. *Hell.* 6.4.18.

21 Cic. *ad Att.* 2.2 (Dikaiarchos); Hypereides in Harpokration 124.13–16 s.v. Μαστῆρες (Aristotle). The latter passage contains no mention of an Achaian *syllagos* (so Morgan and Hall [1996] 194). The only reference to such a body is in the title of a play of Sophokles, Rizakis (1995) no. 141.

entertained at Athens in 344/3.²² We also have the text of a treaty between the Achaean League and Κορωνεῖς, perhaps Koroneia, from the late fourth century.²³ But there is also evidence for Achaian cities from the fifth century. We know, again from Xenophon, that the Spartans introduced oligarchies into the Achaian cities in 417.²⁴ A fifth-century honorific Athenian inscription for a ship-owner describes him as Ἀχαιοίς.²⁵ But is that evidence, ask Morgan and Hall, for the existence of an Achaean League at that date? Not necessarily. And the same doubt attaches to Pausanias' reference to the victory in the mare race (κάλπη) at Olympia in 496 by Pataikos, an Ἀχαιοίς from Dyme.²⁶

4

There is, however, one important piece of evidence for the early existence of a federal league of Achaian cities, with its shrine of Zeus Homarios, which I should like to discuss more fully. And may I add now that I am *not* proposing to go into the question, once hotly debated, of how this deity's cult-name should be spelt – Omarios, Homarios, Amarios and Hamarios are all possible – since it is irrelevant to my present topic.²⁷ The evidence I want to consider is a passage from Polybios,²⁸ which states that three southern Italian cities, Achaian in origin, namely Kroton, Sybaris and Kaulonia, combined and agreed first to set up a common sanctuary of Zeus Homarios, in which they held federal assemblies and councils, and secondly to adopt the customs and laws of the Achaians, ordering their constitution in accordance with these. The value of this statement as historical evidence has been queried by Morgan and Hall on three counts.²⁹ I want to argue that these are not decisive and that on balance we should accept Polybios's statement.

Their first argument is that Polybios is here writing to glorify his native Achaia. That is perfectly true, but it does not follow that he *invented* this account of a league

22 IG II² 20.

23 SVA 452.

24 Xen. Hell. 7.1.43.

25 IG I² 93.

26 Paus. 5.9.1.

27 Nor shall I discuss whether the temple of Zeus Homagryios (Paus. 7.24.2) is to be identified with that of Zeus Homarios: on this see Rizakis (1995) no. 305.

28 Polyb. 2.39.5–6: μετὰ πινας χρόνους (i.e. after the burning of the Pythagorean clubhouses) ὁλοσχερῶς ὥρμησαν (sc. the South Italian Greeks) ἐπὶ τὸ μιμηταὶ γενέσθαι τῆς πολιτείας αὐτῶν (i.e. the Achaians). παρακαλέσαντες γὰρ σφᾶς καὶ συμφρονήσαντες Κροτωνιᾶται, Συβαρίται, Καυλωνιᾶται, πρῶτον μὲν ἀπέδειξαν Διὸς Ὁμαρίου κοινὸν ἱερὸν καὶ τόπον, ἐν ᾧ τὰς τε συνόδους καὶ τὰ διαβούλια συνετέλουν, δεῦτερον τοὺς ἐθισμοὺς καὶ νόμους ἐκλαβόντες τοὺς τῶν Ἀχαιῶν ἐπεβάλλοντο χρῆσθαι καὶ διοικεῖν κατὰ τούτους τὴν πολιτείαν. "Some time afterwards they resolved to model their constitution completely on that of the Achaians. The Krotonians, Sybarites and Kaulonians, having called a conference and come to a unanimous decision, first established a common temple of Zeus Homarios, in which they held their meetings and discussions, and secondly, adopting the customs and laws of the Achaians, resolved to conduct their government in accordance with these".

29 Morgan and Hall (1996) 195.

of southern Italian cities basing their new constitution on that of mainland Achaia. We should note that not only Polybios, earlier in this same passage, but also Iamblichos, in a passage which probably goes back ultimately to Timaios, who had no axe to grind on behalf of Achaia, records Achaian intervention in Italy somewhat earlier in the fifth century, following the burning of the Pythagorean club-houses (*synedria*).³⁰ Nor is it unlikely that the Achaians should seek to maintain an interest in and influence on their earlier overseas foundations.

The second objection raised by Morgan and Hall concerns Sybaris, one of the three cities mentioned by Polybios. This city had been destroyed by Kroton in 510, restored in 453 and destroyed again in 448. The name Sybaris was then given for a time to the new colony of Thourioi, founded in 446 or 445; but the Sybarites soon seceded and founded a new Sybaris on the river Traeis. It is probably to this third city that Polybios here refers.

Against that identification Morgan and Hall object that Strabo tells us that Sybaris-on-the-Traeis was a Rhodian, i.e. a Dorian colony.³¹ That, however, is not so. What Strabo says here is that *some people* (τινές) claimed Rhodian origins for both Sybaris-on-the-Traeis and for the city of Siris. In fact we know from Athenaios that both Aristotle and Timaios were in agreement that Siris was settled from Kolophon (which is of course Ionian in origin);³² and Strabo himself talks about an earlier city of Siris colonised by Ionians. Since then the τινές were wrong on Siris, it seems not impossible that they were also wrong about Sybaris-on-the-Traeis; for in neither case does Strabo endorse their view. Nor indeed is it very likely that Dorian settlers from Rhodes would want to give their colony the name of the Achaian city Sybaris.

The third objection raised by Morgan and Hall concerns the setting up of a south Italian Homarion in the fifth century. This interests me more, since a common shrine and common deity or deities form one of the most conspicuous defining elements of an *ethnos*. Was there, in fact, they ask, any federal shrine to Zeus Homarios (and Athena Homaria) in Achaia in the fifth century? There is of course abundant evidence that the Homarion, the shrine of Zeus Homarios and Athena Homaria, fulfilled that function within the revived Achaian league from 280 onwards. Morgan and Hall argue, however, that that was not so before the destruction of Helike, the neighbouring city to the south-east of Aigion, by earthquake and tidal wave in 373.³³ It is indeed true that Strabo records the Achaian possession of the territory of Helike and “the sacred grove of Zeus, the Homarion, where the Achaians assembled to

30 Polyb. 2.39.1; Iambl. VP 263.

31 Strabo 6.1.14: τινές δὲ καὶ Ῥοδίων κτίσμα φασὶ καὶ Σεῖριτιν καὶ τὴν ἐπὶ τοῦ Τράεντος Σύβαριν. “According to some, however, both Siris and Sybaris-on-the-Traeis were founded by the Rhodians”. Τράεντος is the generally accepted emendation of the MSS Τεῦθραντος.

32 Athen. 523c: καὶ οἱ τὴν Σῆριν δὲ κατοικοῦντες, ἦν πρῶτοι κατέσχον οἱ ἀπὸ Τροίας ἐλθόντες, ὕστερον δ' ὑπὸ Κολοφωνίων, ὥς φησι Τίμαιος καὶ Ἀριστοτέλης, εἰς τρυφὴν ἐξώκειλαν οὐχ ἥσσον Συβαριτῶν. “Again, those who settled at Siris, which was occupied first by those coming from Troy and later by Kolophonians, as Timaios and Aristotle tell us, drifted into luxury no less than the Sybarites”.

33 On the destruction of Helike in 373, see Rizakis (1995) nos. 109, 195, 388, 475, 479, 512 and 513.

debate matters of common interest".³⁴ But that does not have to mean that the sacred grove of Zeus had formerly been situated on the territory of Helike. Morgan and Hall claim that prior to the disaster the Achaians had worshipped and held their meetings at a different shrine, in the territory of Helike, which, they think, was in all probability that of Poseidon Helikonios, whose worship was prominent at Helike from Homeric times onwards. They support this view with the argument that the first Achaian coinage, showing on the reverse of the only surviving stater belonging to it a figure of Zeus, was intended to celebrate the adoption of the cult of Zeus Homarios at Aigion in place of the supposed federal cult of Poseidon at Helike.³⁵ This rather bold argument deserves little credence, however, for this rare issue is one of a series of new coinages which appear in the Peloponnese following the end of Spartan domination at the battle of Leuktra in 371. Head accordingly dated it to that year; and more recently Colin Kraay has linked it with Arkadian and Messenian didrachms which probably date back to the decade 370–360. It is highly improbable that this Achaian issue has anything to do with the adoption of a new federal cult.

5

There is, however, a problem about the Homarion, as is very clear if we examine two passages of Pausanias and one of Livy. In 7.24.4 Pausanias tells us that the Achaians met at Aigion "as the Amphiktyons did at Thermopylai and at Delphi". This is a reference to the shrines of Demeter at Anthela and of Apollo at Delphi, and though Pausanias does not specifically say so, his words suggest that the Achaians likewise met at a shrine, which we have every reason to assume to be that of Zeus Homarios. But was that always true? Livy, who is here closely following the Achaian historian Polybios, tells us that from the beginning of the Achaian League – *a principio Achaici concilii* – meetings of the *gens* were always summoned to Aigion.³⁶ It could be argued that Livy is here referring only to the revived league of 280; but we know from Polybios 2.39.5–6, which we have just been considering, that Polybios believed the Homarion to have been the federal shrine in the fifth century (when the Italians copied it) and knew of no change after the destruction of Helike in 373. So if Livy is referring to the Homarion at Aigion, we may fairly

34 Strabo 8.7.5: Αἰγιέων δ' ἐστὶ καὶ ταῦτα καὶ Ἑλίκη καὶ τὸ τοῦ Διὸς ἄλσος τὸ Ἀμάριον, ὅπου συνήεσαν οἱ Ἀχαιοὶ βουλευσόμενοι περὶ τῶν κοινῶν. "These (i.e. Keraunia [read Keryneia] and Aigai) belong to Aigion as do Helike and the Amarion, the grove of Zeus, where the Achaians met to deliberate on affairs of common interest". Helike was destroyed and its territory annexed in 373.

35 For Achaian coinage showing Zeus, cf. B. V. Head, *Historia Numorum*² (Oxford 1911) 410; see Colin Kraay, *Archaic and Classical Greek Coins* (London 1976) 101, for a link with Arkadian and Messenian didrachms (370–360).

36 Liv. 38.30.2 (following Polybios): Aegium a principio Achaici concilii semper conventus gentis indicti sunt, seu dignitati urbis id seu loci opportunitati datum est. "From the beginning of the Achaian confederacy meetings of the people were always called to Aegium, whether as a recognition of the city's importance or in view of the convenience of the site".

assume that he (and so by implication Polybios, whom he is following) is speaking of the original confederacy.

At this point, however, we must consider a further passage of Pausanias.³⁷ Here, with reference to a date all around the time of the Gaulish invasion of 279, Pausanias states that “the Achaians decided to meet at Aigion which, following the destruction of Helike, was the leading city in Achaia”. Although he does not actually say so, the implication of this passage would seem to be that the Achaians had previously met at Helike. Such a conclusion would of course contradict all the other evidence we have just been considering. Accordingly, in 1938, in his important book on the Achaean assemblies, André Aymard proposed an ingenious solution to reconcile the two sets of evidence.³⁸ To surmount the difficulty which arises if the shrine of Zeus Homarios was the federal shrine at Aigion only after the destruction of Helike in 373 (as Morgan and Hall still argue), he suggested that after Helike was overwhelmed and Aigion took over its neighbour’s territory – as Strabo records (7.7.5) – that territory *included* the Homarion. If that were true, however, we should have to suppose that Pausanias had not appreciated the fact that what occurred after the cataclysm was merely the attribution of the same shrine to a different city and not the adoption of a new shrine in a new locality.

Ingenious though it is, Aymard’s theory will not stand up, thanks to evidence that has become available since he wrote. As Robert Parker points out in the important appendix to his recent inaugural lecture as Wykeham Professor at Oxford – it deals with *ethne* cults – several federal inscriptions dating from the fourth century onwards found at a site to the *north-west* of Aigion, towards the coast, and published in 1953 and 1954 by Jean Bingen, render it virtually certain that the Homarion was located in that vicinity, which lies in the opposite direction to Helike and could not therefore have stood on territory annexed from that city after 373.³⁹

6

So where does that leave us? There are, I suggest, two possibilities. One is that before 373 the Achaians met at a Homarion in the territory of Helike, but after the disaster transferred the shrine to a new locality to the north-west of Aigion. Recent work on the so-called *Helike* Project, using 18 m drill-holes and a magnetometer survey, has confirmed that the ancient accounts of the destruction of Helike are substantially correct and that the remains of the original city and its territory were

37 Paus. 7.7.2: ἀθροίζεσθαι δὲ ἐς Αἰγίον σφισιν ἔδοξεν· αὕτη γὰρ μετὰ Ἑλικὴν ἐπικλυθεῖσαν πόλεων ἐν Ἀχαΐα τῶν ἄλλων δόξῃ προεῖχεν ἐκ παλαιοῦ καὶ ἴσχυεν ἐν τῷ τότε. “They decided (i.e. in 280) to meet at Aigion. For after Helike had been overwhelmed by the waves Aigion outstripped the other Achaean cities in reputation both from ancient times and then”.

38 Aymard (1938) 277–293.

39 Parker (1998) 31 n. 77; Rizakis (1995) 201 no. 305 n. 2 on the inscriptions recorded by Bingen (*BCH* 77 [1953] 616–628; *BCH* 78 [1954] 402–409) and others from a site to the north-west of Aigion.

buried under alluvial deposits ranging between 1.5 m and 12 m in depth.⁴⁰ When, after 373, the people of Aigion took over this devastated territory, it is quite feasible that they should have moved the shrine of the now buried Homarion to a new site within their own territory, and as far as possible from the devastated area and the epicentre of the earthquake.

This theory could be reconciled with Pausanias 7.7.2.⁴¹ But it contradicts a strict reading of Livy's statement that it was in Aigion that Achaian assemblies met *a principio*; and, more important, it involves the improbable assumption that down to 373 there existed a shrine of Zeus Homarios, important to the whole of Achaia, *at Helike*, which is nowhere attested in any of our sources. And it is, of course, wholly at variance with Polybios 2.39.5–6.⁴²

Alternatively, we can assume that there was no move of the Homarion after 373 and that, despite Pausanias 7.7.2, it does not follow from the decision of the reformed league of 280 to meet at Aigion that the earlier league had not also met there. Between these two hypotheses a decision is not easy, for both present difficulties. But, on balance, it seems to me more probable that the federal sanctuary was *not* moved after 373 and that the decision of the reformed league of 280 to meet at Aigion merely took up a custom that had existed from the earliest days of the Achaian League. Perhaps future archaeological work at Aigion and Helike will throw fresh light on the problem. But, whatever the possible outcome of such work, there is no reason to reject the Polybian account of the setting up of a league of southern Italian cities with its own Homarion in the late fifth century. For there is no ancient evidence to support the view that the Achaians ever looked to Poseidon Helikonios as their federal deity. Indeed, Strabo (8.7.3) puts the Achaian adoption of Zeus Homarios back into mythical times, for he thinks the Achaians took him over from the Ionians when they replaced them on the shores of the Gulf.

7

This has been a long digression; but it seemed necessary to establish that the Achaian League of the fourth and third centuries was in no sense a recent construct, but a direct continuation of the earlier association, with its meeting-place at the Homarion at Aigion, as Polybios 2.39.5–6 implies. The question I now want to examine is this: What did the cult of Zeus Homarios (and Athena Homaria) mean to the ordinary Achaian of the Hellenistic age, not merely when such a person figured in any official capacity, such as occupying a magistracy or attending an assembly, but also as a private individual – and that especially after the expansion of the Achaian League to cover, eventually, the whole Peloponnese? This enlargement began in 251, when Aratos of Sikyon, having liberated his own Dorian city from the local tyrant, took the momentous step of attaching it to the Achaian League. There were in fact several reasons why this act was less surprising than it may at first sight seem. We know

40 On the Helike project, see *AR* 43 (1976/7) 42; 44 (1977/8) 40.

41 Quoted above, n. 37.

42 Quoted above, n. 28.

from Pausanias that there was a mythological connection between Sikyon and Achaia.⁴³ The territory occupied by the latter had at one time been known as Aigialos, a name said by some to have been taken from that of a king of Sikyon (though others, says Pausanias, derived it – and this is perhaps more plausible – from the same word meaning a sea-shore). Furthermore, and perhaps more importantly, such a union had its Achaian precedents, since before 389 Kalydon across the Korinthian Gulf had belonged to the Achaian League. And the other great Hellenistic *ethnos*, the Aitolian League, had already set up a significant pattern of expansion by absorbing various peoples of northern Greece during the years prior to the Chremonidean War of 268 – as Aratos will have known. Perhaps the novelty of Aratos' move lay in his *wish* to become Achaian and in the Sikyonian (rather than Achaian) initiative.

Be that as it may, the inclusion of Sikyon in the Achaian League and the vigorous leadership now provided by Aratos himself led to a speedy expansion which I do not propose to trace in detail. The point I want to stress is that for a considerable time the Homarion at Aigion continued to provide both a religious and a secular centre for league activities, although as expansion took in large, long-established cities of the Peloponnese, each with a noteworthy past, such as Korinthos, Argos and, after much resistance, even Sparta, Aigion became an increasingly inconvenient meeting place and political centre. Eventually, in 188, after long controversy, and strong opposition from Aigion, Philopoimen of Megalopolis successfully sponsored a proposal to have federal assemblies meet at the various major cities in turn.⁴⁴ This took away the *political* importance of Aigion and the Homarion. But there is evidence that, although it must have meant far less to the newer members of the confederacy, which of course already had their own special cults and deities, the *religious* importance of the Homarion, where presumably records of treaties and other public business continued to be kept and honorific decrees of the league to be set up, went on down to and even *after* 146. Clearly it would have been impossible to cart the contents of the whole Achaian record-office around from city to city on the trail of the assemblies.

8

In a public sense the shrine and cult of the Homarion thus remained central to the Achaian League, as it had always been. But its *private* significance, at any time, is difficult, perhaps ultimately impossible, to assess. There is, however, one small piece of evidence to show that some individuals looked to Zeus Homarios (and Athena Homaria) as the proper recipients of a personal act of devotion. Around 1900 there was discovered, in the neighbourhood of Damanhour in the Egyptian delta, an inscription on a limestone *stele* which read: Διὸς Ἀμαρίου / καὶ Ἀθῆνας / Ἀμαρίας, “Zeus Amarios and Athena Amaria”.⁴⁵ There has been some controversy over the

43 Paus. 7.1.1.

44 Liv. 38.1.5.

45 Bernand (1970) I, 523–5 no. 1 = *Sammelbuch* i (1915) no. 357. Earlier discussion in P. Perdrizet, *REA* 23 (1921) 281–283; M. Launey, *Recherches sur les armées hellénistiques*, ii (Paris, 1950) 953–954; L. Robert, *American Studies in Papyrology* 1 (1966) 175–211.

years about the date of the lettering of this inscription and the context in which the *stèle* was erected. In 1921 P. Perdrizet argued that it was associated with a sanctuary, a view which was widely accepted. But in 1966 Louis Robert showed from a parallel example (*SB* 6664) that it was most probably a dedication associated with a domestic altar. As regards the date, several scholars, including Perdrizet and Marcel Launey, claimed that it was an inscription from imperial times, and envisaged the possibility that it was a later re-engraving of a Hellenistic dedication, a hypothesis which presented several problems. But in 1970 A. Bernand identified it, with great probability, as belonging to the “*haute époque hellénistique*”. There is no evidence to support a direct military context for this dedication, but it certainly looks extremely probable that the persons making it had, or had had, some connection with the large body of Achaian mercenaries employed by the early Ptolemies. A group of Achaians of purely civilian origin and living some 60 km from Alexandria seems altogether less likely. The Achaian connection, however, seems certain, since the Homarios title of Zeus and Athena figures nowhere else in our records. Thus the dedication shows that an Achaian, even when – indeed perhaps especially when – settled in a foreign land, might choose to assert his ethnic and religious identity (and perhaps express a sense of nostalgia) with a dedication to the deities of his native Homarion.

9

This example of a private dedication to the Zeus and Athena of the Homarion seems to date to a time when the Achaian League was still a leading state in mainland Greece and when association with it could, even in a foreign realm, be a subject of personal pride. But we have also evidence that well after 146 and the Roman takeover,⁴⁶ Achaia and the Homarion continued to be of significance as an element in Greek consciousness. As early as 34/33 B.C., before the battle of Actium and the establishment of Octavian's principate, an inscription records a dedication to M. Iunius Silanus, pro-quaestor, by a Greek federation composed of Boiotians, Euboi-ans, Lokrians, Phokians and Dorians, that is to say, of ethnic groups situated to the north of the Korinthian Gulf.⁴⁷ This group, which apparently bore no overall name, was a forerunner of a series of minor leagues with a fluctuating membership and a succession of different names. Eventually, however, as we learn from an inscription honouring T. Statilius Timocrates,⁴⁸ which was shown by Arnaldo Momigliano to

46 The usual view attributes the suppression of the Achaian league to L. Mummius in 146. Kallet-Marx (1995) 77–82, makes a strong case, however, for thinking that it had already disintegrated before Mummius brought the Achaian War to an end.

47 *Syll.*³ 767.

48 *Syll.*³ 796 A-B; cf. A. D. Momigliano, *JRS* 34 (1944) 115–116. Improved readings in *SEG* document 35304, ἔδοξε τῷ Παναχαϊκῷ συνεδρίῳ ἐπαινέσαι τὸν ἄνδρα καὶ ἀναστήσαι αὐτοῦ χαλκᾶς εἰκόνας ἐν τε τοῖς πανηγυριστηρίοις τῶν ἱερῶν ἀγώνων καὶ ἐν τῷ τοῦ Ἀμαριῶνος Διὸς [τεμ]ένει καὶ ἐν Ἐπιδαύρῳ ἐν τῷ τοῦ Ἀσκληπιοῦ ἱερῷ, ἐπιγραφὴν ἔχουσας ὁ Ἀχαιοὶ καὶ Βοιωτοὶ [καὶ Φο]κεῖς καὶ Εὐβοεῖς καὶ Δοκροὶ καὶ Δωριεῖς Τίτον Στρατεῖλιον Τειμοκράτη γραμματέα [αὐτῶν] γενόμενον ἀρετῆς ἕνεκα. “Resolved by the Panachaian Coun-

be concerned with the so-called “liberation” of Greece by Nero and hence to be dated to around AD 67, there was by this time a group of *ethne* which, though still predominantly representative of northern Greek peoples, now included the Achaians, who are mentioned first. The interesting thing about this inscription, which records an event which was believed to be of the greatest significance for Hellas as a whole, is that it reveals that the composite body has now adopted the name of *Panachaioi* and its ambassadors are called ambassadors of the Achaians. The name of this body, it is true, is not stable. In *IG* VII 2711 the federation is called that of the Panhellenes; but elsewhere in the documents included under this *IG* number it is the “Achaian *koinon*”. I have no desire to go into the confusing history of these Greek leagues under the early empire prior to Hadrian and their relative chronology. What I do want to emphasise is the fact that, according to the inscription of AD 67, inscribed statues to T. Statilius Timocrates are to be set up not only at the site of the “Panachaian Games” – which we know from another inscription celebrating the same occasion to be the Olympian, Isthmian and Nemean⁴⁹ – and at the Asklepieion at Epidauros, but also in the shrine of the Homarion. It is certainly noteworthy that this panhellenic body had identified itself so completely with its Achaian forbears and its new Achaian identity as to give the comparatively remote and almost parochial Homarion equal place with these venerable centres of Hellenic religious tradition.

The title adopted by this Panachaian League echoes Homer, *Iliad* 2.404;⁵⁰ but the word also exists as an epithet of Demeter⁵¹ and Artemis.⁵² A similar form, *Panachais*, is also found as an epithet of Athena;⁵³ and there is, of course the Panachaian Mountain in Achaia. From this evidence it seems clear that the various ethnic groups, which found themselves within what had now become a province of the Roman empire, eventually agreed on Achaia, or some variant of the Achaian name, as their most appropriate symbol. Their purpose was plainly to assert a Greek identity. It was, in fact, not dissimilar to that which dominated the writers of the so-called Second Sophistic, except that Hellenistic echoes are not common in *their* works. Pausanias tells us⁵⁴ that the Romans called the governor of Greece οὐχ Ἑλλάδος ἀλλὰ

cil to praise the man (i.e. T. Statilius Timocrates) and to erect bronze statues of him at the meeting-places of the sacred games and in the precinct of Zeus Amarios and in the shrine of Asklepios, bearing the inscription: the Achaians and Boiotians and Phokians and Euboians and Lokrians and Dorians to Titus Statilius Timocrates, who acted as their secretary, for his merits”. Nero’s speech liberating Greece (*Syll.*³ 814 = *ILS* 8794) refers only to πάντες οἱ τὴν Ἀχαιαν καὶ τὴν ἕως νῦν Πελοπόννησον κατοικοῦντες Ἕλληνες (“all the Hellenes dwelling in Achaia and what is up to now the Peloponnese”). This clearly refers to both the Peloponnese and the other areas constituting the province of Achaia, i.e. northern Greece up to and including Thessaly and parts of Epirus (Larsen [1938], 438), and so all the *ethne* named in *Syll.*³ 796 A-B.

49 *IG* V.2 517.15 (from Lykosoura).

50 κίκλησκεν δὲ γέροντας ἀριστῆας Παναχαιῶν, “He (Agamemnon) called together the most excellent old men of all the Achaians”.

51 Paus. 7.24.3.

52 *BCH* 25 (1901) 350: Delphi.

53 Paus. 7.20.2.

54 Paus. 7.16.10.

'Αχαΐας, of Achaia, not of Hellas, because they conquered the Greeks δι' Ἀχαιῶν, who were at that time the leading people of Greece.⁵⁵ So one obvious reason for the decision of the ethnic bodies under Roman rule to adopt the Achaian title will have been to link them to the name of the province and may, as Larsen suggested, have been designed partly to gain their league recognition as a regular provincial assembly.⁵⁶ But the decision was not obvious and was not taken at once. In fact, apart from any immediate advantages, this decision was based also upon a long-lasting historical consciousness, in which the name Achaia encapsulated the traditions of the old Achaian League with its revered cult of Zeus Homarios and Athena Homaria and still carried a powerful resonance in the minds of Greeks whose fate it was to live under the Roman empire.

To sum up my argument, I have tried in this paper to show that the name Achaia carried resonances not only from Homer but from a time before the political organisation of the cities of Achaia, that an Achaian identity was closely associated with the cult of Zeus Homarios and Athena Homaria at Aigion, that Achaiaans abroad might express their identity through this cult and that under the Roman empire Greeks living on both sides of the Korinthian Gulf found it appropriate to use the Panachai-an name and the cult of Zeus Homarios to express their Greekness in a world dominated by Rome.⁵⁷

Table of relevant dates

720 B.C.	Foundation of Sybaris
c.708	Foundation of Kroton
c.675–650	Foundation of Kaulonia
496	Pataikos, an Achaian from Dyme, wins the mare-race at Olympia
c.450	Burning of Pythagorean clubhouses in S. Italian cities, followed by <i>stasis</i>
c.430	Achaian intervention in S. Italy
after c.450	Foundation of Sybaris-on-the-Traeis
before 417	Sybaris-on-the-Traeis, Kroton and Kaulonia form league with Homarion
417	Spartans set up oligarchies in Achaian cities
before 399	Kalydon a member of the Achaian League
373	Destruction of Helike by earthquake and tidal wave. Aigion annexes territory of Helike
371	Spartan defeat at Leuktra
c.370–360	New Achaian coinage shows Zeus Homarios

55 Mummius' *provincia* had been *bellum Achaicum*, Just. *Epit.* 34.2.1.

56 Cf. Larsen (1938) 450–451; on the provincial assemblies, see Deininger (1965).

57 This paper was read to a seminar in the Institute of Classical Studies, London, on 22 April 1999. I am grateful to several of those present for suggestions and, especially, to Dorothy and John Thompson, whose help and careful scrutiny have improved it in countless ways.

281/0	Achaian League refounded
279	Gaulish invasion of north Greece
251	Aratos frees Sikyon and attaches it to the Achaian League
3rd cent.(?)	Dedication to Zeus Homarios and Athena Homaria near Damanhour, Egypt
146	Dissolution of Achaian League in course of or after the Achaian War
34/33	Dedication by Greek federation to M. Iunius Silanus (<i>Syll.</i> ³ 767)
c.AD 67	Panachaian League honours T.Statilius Timocrates. Statues of him to be erected at the Homarion and other sites

Note: dates before 417 are mostly approximate.

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POPULATION AND POLITICAL STRENGTH OF SOME SOUTHEASTERN ARKADIAN *POLEIS*¹

by

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The population of a state is one of the most important factors, on the basis of which its political strength is built. Unfortunately we have very limited information about the population of the Arkadian *poleis*. This is even the case for the large southeastern Arkadian *poleis* Tegea, Mantinea and Orchomenos, although these belong to the Arkadian *poleis* about which we know most. The purpose of this paper is to try to evaluate the differences in population between Tegea, Mantinea, Orchomenos and the communities of the Mainalian tribe,² in order to see whether this can give us any new information which could help us to understand the political history of the area in the Classical period.

In this study I am going to use three different methods for calculating the population of ancient *poleis*. First, there is the possibility of estimating the population of the *poleis* on the basis of existing historical statements about the size of their armies. The second method is based on the belief that it is possible to estimate the population on the basis of the area covered by the urban centres. The third possibility is to try to establish the maximum population that each *polis* territory was capable of supporting. Each method has its own advantages and disadvantages. I will first describe in which way these three methods have been applied to the southeastern *poleis* so far and will then introduce an alternative way of using the third method, a way which allows us to compare the differences in population size between the *poleis* in question. Finally I will evaluate some possible problems and results of this model for understanding the history of the area.

- 1 The author owes thanks to the following persons for commenting on different parts of this paper; Pernille Flensted-Jensen, Jeannette Forsén, Rune Frederiksen, Mogens Herman Hansen, Thomas Heine Nielsen, Yanis Pikoulas and Jim Roy. I also want to thank Mogens Herman Hansen and everybody working in the Copenhagen Polis Centre for their immense hospitality during my stay as a guest researcher in Copenhagen in April and August 1998. My stay was financed by a generous mobility grant from the Nordisk Forskerutdanningsakademi, NorFA. This paper was finalized during my stay at the Archäologisches Institut in Heidelberg as an Alexander von Humboldt fellow.
- 2 Of the Mainalian communities the following can be considered *poleis* in the classical period: Asea, Dipaia, Eutaia, Helisson, Oresthasion, and Pallantion. The political status of the rest is unclear, even though there are certain indications of Lykaia and Mainalos having been *poleis* (Nielsen [1996a] 139–142; Nielsen [1996b] 136–138). In this paper I will only use the term *polis* when explicitly speaking about Asea, Dipaia, Eutaia, Helisson, Oresthasion, and Pallantion. When this is not the case I will use the neutral term ‘community’.

I. Historical Sources and Demographical Models

There are some historical sources which mention the number of hoplites and other troops of Tegea, Mantinea and Orchomenos that took part in different battles in the fifth century BC. Starting with the German scholar Karl Julius Beloch in the end of the 19th century scholars have used demographical models in order to calculate the population of *poleis* on the basis of the information about the number of hoplites the *poleis* could raise.³ Before looking at which results can be reached for the populations of Tegea, Mantinea and Orchomenos in this way let us recapitulate what our sources say about the number of hoplites and other troops of these *poleis*.⁴

According to Hdt. 7.202, 500 hoplites from Tegea, 500 from Mantinea and 120 from Orchomenos took part in the battle of Thermopylai in 480 BC. In the battle of Plataiai the following year Herodotos (9.28.3–4) mentions that 1,500 hoplites from Tegea and 600 from Orchomenos took part. Furthermore he states (9.29.2) that each hoplite was followed by a *psilos* and, accordingly, at 9.61.2 he gives the total size of the Tegean contingent as 3,000. The Mantineans did not take part in the battle of Plataiai, but from Thuc. 5.50.4 we know that in 420 BC they sent 1,000 men to Olympia to support the Eleians against an anticipated Spartan attack. Speaking about a battle between Sparta and Argos of 418 B.C. Diodoros (12.78.4) states that 3,000 soldiers from the Eleians and almost as many from the Mantineans assisted the Argives. Finally Lysias (34.7) in a speech written in 403 BC claims that even if the Mantineans were less than 3,000 strong they were nonetheless resisting Sparta.

Now there are certain problems in interpreting the passages of Diodoros and Lysias. First, the figure for the Mantinean soldiers given by Diodoros seems also to include allies of Mantinea. At least Thucydides (5.58.1) speaking about the same campaign tells that the Argives were assisted by the Mantineans with their allies and by 3,000 hoplites from Elis. What then about the figure of Mantineans given by

3 Everybody who has made calculations on the basis of hoplite numbers seems to assume that these were city-hoplites. The possibility that the Arkadian *poleis* could have hired mercenaries cannot however be totally excluded, especially for the Late Classical and Hellenistic periods. Xenophon, *Hell.* 5.4.36, mentions mercenaries fighting for Kleitor in 378 BC and Roy (1968) 102 lists two further cases of mercenaries, in Tegea in the 3rd cent. BC (*IG* V.2.34, it is however not explicitly said that the status of the foreigners in Tegea were mercenaries) and in Mantinea in 193/192 BC (*IG* V.2.293 concerning Cretan mercenaries hired by Mantinea). I do in the following discussion exclude the possibility that part of the hoplite numbers mentioned for Tegea, Mantinea and Orchomenos could have been mercenaries.

4 In the following I will only consider the cases in which the number of soldiers from the three *poleis* is explicitly mentioned in the ancient sources. Roy (1971) 439–441, believes that Xenophon's (*Hell.* 4.2.16–19) account of the battle at Nemea in 394 BC can be used to show that at least 2,400 Tegean hoplites took part. Roy's reasoning is based on the assumption that the Tegean troops were drawn up in the same depth as the Spartan ones. He considers it safe to assume this, as Xenophon mentions nothing to suggest that the Spartans were drawn up in a depth differing from that of their allies. The safeness of this assumption seems somewhat questionable to me. Xenophon does for instance not mention the number of Tegeans, Mantineans and Achaians taking part in the battle, even though he mentions the number of several of the other Spartan allies. On the other hand he gives all the numbers of the Athenians and their allies. His description of the battle is thus clearly uneven, making any *e silentio* assumption dangerous.

Lysias? Does this figure also include Mantinean allies, or does it refer only to proper Mantineans? We do not know, but it is perhaps safest to assume that it does not include any allies. At any rate the Mantinean *symmachia* was dissolved ca. 418 BC⁵ and we do not know of any Mantinean allies at the time when Lysias wrote. Still the passage of Lysias is very problematic. Theoretically it could equally well refer solely to hoplites, to hoplites and light-armed troops, or even to all male adult citizens. The context in which Lysias' less than 3,000 Mantineans are mentioned (brave resistance to Sparta) seems to indicate that Lysias is thinking in terms of Mantinea's military capacity, and that his figure is, then, an army figure. But does it refer solely to hoplites or does it also include light-armed troops? And can we really exclude the possibility that it refers to all male adult citizens? Unfortunately Thucydides' reference to the 1,000 Mantineans sent to Olympia is nearly as unclear as Lysias' – we do not know whether it refers to hoplites or to a military contingent consisting of both hoplites and light-armed troops.

Another problem connected with estimating the populations of Tegea and Mantinea is that scholars dealing with this question often presume that the population of Tegea and Mantinea, the well-known arch enemies, must have been roughly equally large. The only evidence presented in support of this preconceived idea is that put forward by Fougères in 1898.⁶ Fougères believes that the fact that Tegea and Mantinea both sent 500 hoplites to Thermopylai would indicate that they had roughly the same population size. This is certainly a very weak argument, as Sparta, for instance, sent only 300 hoplites to the same battle. One should also note that Orchomenos sent 120 hoplites to Thermopylai, i.e., roughly a fourth of the number of Tegean and Mantinean hoplites, whereas Orchomenos sent 600 hoplites to Plataiai as compared to Tegea's 1,500. This gives a ratio of 2.5 Tegean hoplites per one Orchomenian at Plataiai, but certainly the population ratio between the two *poleis* had not changed from ca. 4:1 to 2.5:1 in only one year's time! Obviously the percentage of hoplites from single *poleis* drafted for the battles of Thermopylai and Plataiai varied greatly, and there is nothing saying that Tegea and Mantinea drafted as large a part of their respective hoplites to the battle of Thermopylai. In the same way it is impossible to tell whether the ratio 4:1 or 2.5:1 is the correct one for the difference in population between Tegea and Orchomenos.

Thus the following information can be used as a basis for demographical calculations of the three east Arkadian *poleis*:

1. In 479 Tegea obviously had a hoplite army of at least 1,500 men.
2. In the same year Orchomenos had a hoplite army of at least 600 men.
3. In 480 Mantinea had a hoplite army of at least 500 men. Sixty years later it sent 1,000 men to Olympia. This figure may refer to hoplites only, or it may refer to a force of hoplites and light-armed soldiers. In 403 there were somewhat less than 3,000 Mantineans. For the sake of simplicity I will calculate with 3,000. Let us assume that this figure only includes Mantineans proper, and no allies. Then we still have to calculate with three possibilities, either that the figure refers to hoplites, or that it refers to all men under arms, or that it refers to all male adult citizens.

5 Nielsen (1996c) 79–83.

6 Fougères (1898) 568–572.

The minimum population which Tegea and Orchomenos must have had in order to be able to draft 1,500 and 600 hoplites can be estimated with the help of Mogens Herman Hansen's demographical model.⁷ According to Hansen a full draft of the armed forces would never affect more than 80% of all men aged up to 40 or 50 years, the rest being unfit for service or just unavailable for the moment. According to an age distribution model quoted by Hansen males between 20 and 49 years of age would amount to ca. 42 % of all males in a society.⁸ This means that if Tegea and Orchomenos fielded all their available hoplites between 20 and 49 of age, then their total number of hoplites in this age interval must have amounted to 1,875 and ca. 750 hoplites. The total number of male members of the "hoplite-class" of the two *poleis* would then have been 4,464 and 1,786. The only problem is that we do not know how large a part of the male Tegeans and Orchomenians belonged to the "hoplite-class". It is usually assumed that 50% did so,⁹ whereby the total male population of Tegea and Orchomenos would have been 8,928 and 3,572 persons, and the total population of both sexes 17,856 and 7,144 persons. Allowing for a margin of error around 10%, one could say that Tegea must have had a population of at least ca. 16,000–20,000 and Orchomenos one of ca. 6,000–8,000. And it should be stressed that in these estimates no account has been taken of possible slaves or metics.¹⁰

Let us follow the same model for Mantinea. The minimum population Mantinea must have had in order to be able to field 500 hoplites is then ca. 5,950, or ca. 5,500–6,500 if we allow for a margin of error around 10%. If the 1,000 and 3,000 Mantineans mentioned in 420 and 403 B.C. refer to hoplites, then Mantinea would have needed a population of 11,905 and 35,714. If we allow for the same margin of error as above the population needed is ca. 11,000–13,000 and ca. 32,000–40,000. At least the latter figure seems impossibly high.¹¹ Let us therefore assume that the 3,000 Mantineans mentioned by Lysias refer to all male adult citizens in the age interval 20–49. If we still believe that 50 % of the citizens belonged to the "hoplite-class", then we end up with the same population as for Tegea, i.e., ca. 16,000–20,000. However, it should be noted that we have calculated with 3,000, even if Lysias

7 Hansen (1985) 12.

8 Nielsen (1996a) 185 calculates with 40% and therefore reaches somewhat differing figures than the ones presented here.

9 Cf. e.g. Nielsen (1996a) 185; Hansen (1997) 27. If we calculate with a higher percentage as e.g. 60 or 70% then a smaller total population would have sufficed for raising the numbers of hoplites.

10 Beloch (1922) 269–280 uses a somewhat different demographical model, but reaches roughly the same result. Starting with the 1,500 hoplites of Tegea for instance, Beloch adds 25% for those being unfit for service or unavailable, whereby he gets 1,875 persons between 20 and 49 years. He then estimates the number of 18–19 and above 50 year old males to be 50% of the number of 20–49 year old males, whereby he ends up with ca. 2,812 males of the "hoplite-class" above 18 years. Estimating the number of hoplites at 40% of the total citizen and metic population he ends up with ca. 7,000 citizens and metics over 18 years. He does not explicitly say how large the whole Tegean population would have been, but adding women and children beneath 18 years would probably give a total free population around 20,000.

11 Hansen (1997) 42 estimates the Mantinean population at 30,000, basing himself on the assumption that Lysias (34.7) refers to hoplites. Hansen tells me that he now considers his estimate too high.

mentions that the Mantineans were less than 3,000. Thus we should perhaps lower our figure to something like 14,000–18,000.

Let us finally consider the possibility that the 3,000 Mantineans mentioned by Lysias were all male adult citizens. According to Hansen's age distribution model males above 18 of age would amount to 57 % of the total male population. In this case the total Mantinean population would have amounted to only 10,526, or ca. 9,500–11,500 if we allow for a margin of error around 10%. However, this estimate should be lowered even somewhat more as Lysias mentions that the Mantineans were less than 3,000. Thus we might have to accept a population as low as 8,000–10,000 for Mantinea. But as already stressed above, it seems more likely that Lysias refers to the military capability of Mantinea than to the total number of male adult citizens.

Before continuing one fact should be stressed. The figures of the Tegean (16,000–20,000) and Orchomenian (6,000–8,000) populations calculated above are to be regarded as minimum ones. We simply do not know whether Tegea and Orchomenos made a full draft for the battle of Plataiai or not. The figure of the Mantinean population, 14,000–18,000 if we believe that Lysias refers to all men under arms, is, on the other hand, a maximum one, as it is clear that Lysias refers to a full draft. Thus the figures for the three *poleis* are not totally comparable.

II. The Size of the Urban Centres as an Indicator of the Population

As a result of the development of modern archaeological survey methods scholars have tried to establish the population on the basis of the relationship between humans and living space in settlements. This method could theoretically also be applied to southeastern Arkadia, as we have some information about the urban centres of the *poleis* studied in this paper. The walls of Mantinea as rebuilt in 370 BC are well preserved and enclose an area of 124 ha.¹² In Tegea only four short pieces of the city wall have been found. The area enclosed by these walls seems to be ca. 190 ha large.¹³ In Orchomenos only the top of the akropolis is enclosed by walls, the area covered being ca. 20 ha.¹⁴ Unfortunately there is not one single Mainalian community with enough left of its walls for an estimate of the area enclosed by the walls to be made. On the other hand there are survey data available for some of the Mainalian communities, showing how large an area the urban centres of Asea, Haimoniai and Oresthasion cover. In Asea this area is at least 25 ha large, in Haimoniai 25–30 ha and in Oresthasion 12–14 ha.¹⁵

12 Hodkinson & Hodkinson (1981) 256.

13 For an estimate of the course of the Tegean city walls, see Voyatzis (1990) fig. 3. Nielsen (in press) has calculated the area enclosed as in this fig. to ca. 190 ha.

14 Meyer (1939) 892.

15 For Asea and Haimoniai, see Forsén & Forsén (1997) 167, with further references. For Oresthasion, see Pikoulas (1988) 102, according to whom the akropolis together with the lower city measured 750x200 m, which would give a total area of 15 ha, but as the site probably has an oval shape I have here estimated its area to 12–14 ha. Further augering done since the publication of Forsén & Forsén (1997) seems to indicate that the area of the urban centre of Asea could

Now it should be noted that there are certain differences between these figures. In Tegea and Mantinea the area enclosed by the walls does not include any akropolis (presumably at Agios Sostis and Gourtsouli respectively), whereas in Orchomenos the walls only surround the top of the akropolis, and thus it is possible that part of the urban settlement was located outside the walls.¹⁶ This possibility also cannot be excluded for Tegea and Mantinea even if, because of the large areas surrounded by their city walls, it seems less likely that a large part of their urban population lived outside the walls. For Haimoniai, Oresthasion and Asea the area mentioned above refers to the total estimated settlement area and not to the area enclosed by the walls, which probably was smaller. This should be kept in mind when making comparisons with e.g. Tegea or Mantinea. The accessible data for Orchomenos differ so much from the data for the other communities that it might be wisest to exclude Orchomenos from any further comparison on the basis of the urban area.

If one compares the areas within the walls of Tegea and Mantinea with each other one notices that the Tegean urban area within the walls is ca. 50% larger than that of Mantinea. As the character of the urban centre at Tegea is similar to that of Mantinea it seems likely that this also indicates that the size of the urban population of Tegea was ca. 50% larger than that of Mantinea. Furthermore the area within the walls of Tegea is ca. eight times larger than the urban settlement area of Asea and Haimoniai and ca. 13 times larger than that of Oresthasion. Exactly what this indicates in terms of difference in population is unclear, but if we take into account the different character of the measured areas, then the urban population of Tegea could have been as much as ca. 10–15 times larger than that of the three Mainalian communities.

Several attempts have recently been made to estimate the number of people living in certain urban centres, the area of which is known. This is a rather risky operation as the settlement density varies greatly from site to site. The Kea survey uses a density of 150 persons/ha for the urban centre of Koresia, but calculates that only between 6 and 8 ha of the total 18 ha was densely occupied.¹⁷ The Southern Argolid Survey calculates with 250 persons/ha for towns, but subtracts 16% of the space for public buildings and open spaces in Halieis and 25% in Hermione.¹⁸ M.H. Hansen has recently shown that the area inside the walls of Plataiai in 431 BC must have had a density of ca. 200 persons/ha.¹⁹ However, this density refers to the total area inside the walls with no consideration taken of space not being densely occupied. If we adjust the density used by the Southern Argolid Survey so that it also refers to the total area inside the walls, then we get a density for Halieis of 210 persons/ha and for Hermione of 187.5 persons/ha. In the case of Koresia an adjusted figure cannot be calculated, as the course of the walls is unsure.

have been even larger than 25 ha. Pikoulas kindly informs me (per lett. 22.1. 1999) that according to him Classical Haimoniai only covers an area of ca. 15 ha.

16 Osborne (1987) 118 even suggests that no population at all lived inside the Orchomenian walls. For criticism of Osborne's suggestion and for a discussion of the urban history of Orchomenos, cf. Nielsen (in press).

17 Whitelaw & Davis (1991) 278–80.

18 Jameson et al. (1994) 549–552.

19 Hansen (1997) 28.

It is however questionable if a high density like those of Plataiai, Hermione and Halieis really is applicable to the large agrarian towns of Tegea and Mantinea. Unfortunately we lack information about the urban settlement area of these *poleis*, but it seems as if part of the area within their walls was reserved for cultivation. Thus a fourth-century BC inscription mentions the existence of gardens next to the houses in Tegea, and in the third century BC we know that corn in times of emergency was planted within the walls of Megalopolis.²⁰ The reference to Megalopolis is not without interest as the character of the urban centre of Megalopolis is similar to that of Tegea and Mantinea, with the town covering a large area (ca. 350 ha) on ground level. Concerning Megalopolis we know from Diodoros (15.70.1) that in 318 BC it managed to raise 15,000 able-bodied men (including slaves and metics). This would give a total population for Megalopolis of ca. 70,000.²¹ Now Megalopolis had a huge territory, and a large percentage of its population must have lived outside the urban centre. If we believe that 50 % of the population lived outside the urban centre, then the population density of the area within the walls of Megalopolis was only 100 persons/ha. If we raise the percentage of those living outside the urban centre to 60 % then the density within the walls falls to 80 persons/ha.²² A low density of 80–100 persons/ha of the total area within the walls would give an urban population of ca. 15,000–19,000 persons for Tegea and of ca. 10,000–12,000 persons for Mantinea.

It should finally be stressed that by using the second method we only reach an estimate of the population of the urban centres. There probably also existed villages settled all the year round. In the small *polis* of Asea at least two such villages, and possibly as many as a handful, have been identified,²³ and it seems reasonable that also *poleis* like Tegea and Mantinea with their large territories had similar villages. In the Mantinike there might have existed five such villages.²⁴ However, in the absence of intensive surveys of the Tegean and Mantinean *chora* we cannot make any estimate of the population living in villages or even in isolated farmsteads. Neither do we know how large a part of the total population lived in the urban centres. Hodkinson and Hodkinson estimate that somewhat less than every second Mantinean would have lived in the urban centre, but in Koresia the Kea survey calculates that at least 75% of the total population lived in the urban centre.²⁵

20 *IG V.2* p. 36 (= *IPArk* no. 5) and *Plut. Phil.* 13.1. For the Tegean inscription, cf. also Hodkinson & Hodkinson (1981) 286, n. 153.

21 Drawing on the passage of Diodoros Beloch (1922) 279 deduced a total population of Megalopolis of ca. 60,000. For an estimate of the area inside of the walls of Megalopolis see Nielsen (in press).

22 Hodkinson & Hodkinson 1981 (see below) calculates with roughly 50% of the Mantinean population as living outside of the urban centre. As the territory of Megalopolis was much larger than the one of Mantinea, one would expect that a larger percentage of the Megalopolitan population lived outside of the walls than in Mantinea. For known settlement sites in the Megalopolitan and Mantinean *chora* see e.g. Jost (1999).

23 Forsén & Forsén (1997) 173–174. Inside the territory of Asea there are also 20–30 possible farmsteads, which however can have been used only seasonally.

24 Jost (1986) 155–156.

25 For the estimate of Hodkinson and Hodkinson, see the description of their calculations below, for the estimate of the Kea survey, see Whitelaw and Davis (1991) 278–281.

III. How Many People Could the Territory of a Polis Support? – the Hodkinsons' Mantinean Experiment

So far it has only once been attempted to calculate how large a population the territory of an Arkadian *polis* could have supported, and that was done by Stephen and Hilary Hodkinson for Mantinea nearly twenty years ago.²⁶ Their impressive calculation experiment works as follows. First they estimate the maximum potential cultivable area of the Mantinean territory, thereby reaching about 9,000 ha or 90 km². Thereafter they count with 18 ha as an average size for wealthy estates and 4.5 ha for hoplite estates. Since the evidence suggests that there was not a large number of wealthy Mantineans they calculate with only 150 wealthy estates. These would cover an area of 2,700 ha cultivable land. The remaining 6,300 ha cultivable land thereafter should be divided in some way between hoplite and sub-hoplite estates.

Hodkinson and Hodkinson suggest a total of somewhere between ca. 2,350 and 2,650 households for Mantinea, out of which 150 would have been wealthy estates, about 1,000–1,200 hoplite estates and 1,200–1,300 sub-hoplite estates. This would only leave approximately one ha cultivable land for each sub-hoplite household. This means that part of the sub-hoplite population owned less cultivable land than was needed for their subsistence, and thus must have gained their living from non-agricultural activities. Hodkinson and Hodkinson suggest that ca. 1,000–1,200 households lived in the urban centre. They estimate these households to have had an average size of 4–5 plus 1–2 slaves, whereas for the remaining households in the countryside they do not reckon with any slaves for the households. Hodkinson and Hodkinson do not calculate how large a total population this would lead to, but following their suggestions one would end up with a total population of ca. 11,500–14,500 for Mantinea.²⁷

Several scholars have recently criticized Hodkinson and Hodkinson's estimate of the Mantinean population for being too low.²⁸ Therefore it might be worthwhile to look closer at some points of criticism that could be put forward against the Hodkinsons' calculation example. These are as far as I can see:

1) Hodkinson and Hodkinson have chosen a too low estimate for the Mantinean territory when calculating with only 207 square kilometres.²⁹ This is probably true. A more correct estimate of the territory is the 275 square kilometres given by Beloch, whereas the 325 square kilometres suggested by Fougères must be rejected as too high.³⁰ However, this does not change anything in Hodkinsons' calculations, as

26 Hodkinson & Hodkinson (1981) esp. 274–277 and 286.

27 According to Hodkinson & Hodkinson (1981) 286 the 1,000–1,200 households in the urban centre would give an urban population of perhaps 6,000–7,200. To reach this figure they have for the sake of simplicity calculated with an average size of an urban household of 6 persons, instead of the 4–5 plus 1–2 slaves. If one calculates with 4–5 persons for each of the 1,350–1,450 households in the countryside, one reaches a population in the countryside of 5,400–7,250 persons.

28 Cf. e.g. Demand (1990) 70–71; Roy (1999).

29 Hodkinson & Hodkinson (1981) 275.

30 Beloch (1922) 280 and Fougères (1898) 125. Hodkinson & Hodkinson (1981) 244–245 exclude the valley of Kapsia from Mantinea's territory, as they believe that this valley was the territory

these are based on the amount of cultivable land, and not on the area of the total territory. An enlargement of the total territory from 207 to 275 square kilometres does not really change Hodkinsons' estimate of the cultivable area, as the area added is mountainous.

2) Hodkinson and Hodkinson calculate with a too small part of the total Mantinean territory as potentially cultivable. They start from the figure of cultivated land in 1961 (ca. 69 km² – 25% of 275 km²), but raise this figure to 90 square kilometres for their own calculations. This is equivalent of ca. 33% of the territory (275 km²). Garnsey calculates with 35–40% as a reasonable estimate of the cultivable portion of Attika in antiquity.³¹ On Melos Wagstaff and Augustson calculated with 20% of the land being cultivated in antiquity as opposed to 14% in modern times.³² Compared with these figures Hodkinsons' estimate of the cultivable part of the Mantinean territory does not seem to be too low.

3) Hodkinson and Hodkinson do not make any allowance for households supported by pasture on uncultivated land nor on households supported by crafts and trade. This is not the fact. In their calculations Hodkinson and Hodkinson reserve 4.5 ha for an ordinary hoplite household. This leaves only 0.67–1.39 ha for the sub-hoplite households.³³ This is far below the minimum necessary for subsistence. Actually Hodkinson and Hodkinson point out that even the hoplite households in order to survive probably needed help from extra measures like e.g. grazing livestock on the barren mountain slopes. They stress that some sub-hoplite households must have lived primarily from non-agricultural activities like crafts and shop-keeping, and one could imagine that the rest were living e.g. on grazing live-stock, even if this is not explicitly stated by Hodkinson and Hodkinson.³⁴

4) Hodkinsons' estimate of the population density within the town walls is too low. This criticism put forward by Demand³⁵ does not really affect the calculations by Hodkinson and Hodkinson, as these are not based on the population density within the walls. The population density mentioned by Hodkinson and Hodkinson is reached after the assumption that roughly 1,000–1,200 of the total of Mantinea's 2,350–

of the Elisphasioi. However, a new inscription (*SEG* 37 240) proves that the Elisphasioi are to be regarded as the citizens of Helisson (cf. *te Riele* [1987] 171–172). As Helisson is located further to the west, in the Helisson valley, there is no reason not to include the valley of Kapsia into Mantinean territory.

31 Garnsey (1988) 92. Other estimates range from 20–50%. For further references, see Garnsey (1988) 91–92.

32 Wagstaff and Augustson (1982) 132.

33 Hodkinson & Hodkinson (1981) 274–277.

34 For the extra measures of the hoplite households, Hodkinson & Hodkinson (1981) 283–284, for sub-hoplite households supporting themselves by crafts and shopkeeping, Hodkinson & Hodkinson (1981) 277 and 285, for the importance of livestock grazing on the mountain ranges of Mainalon and Artemision, Hodkinson & Hodkinson (1981) 280.

35 Demand (1990) 70. Demand considers Hodkinsons' estimate, which would give a population within the walls of 6,000–7,200 too low, and prefers Amit's [(1973) 145–146] estimate (10,000) of the Mantinean population. However, it should be noted that Amit refers to the whole population of Mantinea, whereas Hodkinson and Hodkinson only refer to the population within the walls. They calculate with nearly as many Mantineans living in villages, and thus actually count with a higher Mantinean population than Amit.

2,650 households lived within the walls. This would give an urban population of 6,000–7,200 and a population density for the whole area within the walls of 49–58 persons/ha, which most likely is too low. A higher percentage of urban households would on the other hand give a higher density without changing the total population of Mantinea considerably. If we raise the number of assumed urban households to ca. 1,500–1,650 we get an urban population of 9,000–10,000 and a population density inside the walls of Mantinea of ca. 73–80/ha. This density which is not too different from the one suggested for Megalopolis would imply that about 2/3 of the Mantineans lived in the urban centre and about 1/3 in the countryside. Thus a larger percentage of the Mantinean population would have lived in the urban centre than the assumed 40–50 % in Megalopolis. On the other hand it does not seem unlikely that a *polis* like Mantinea with a territory of perhaps only 275 square kilometres had a larger percentage of the population living in the urban centre than a large *polis* like Megalopolis with a territory covering possibly as much as 1,500 square kilometres.³⁶

As a conclusion I think that Hodkinson's calculations must be considered roughly correct. Hodkinson and Hodkinson never tried to check their calculations by looking at how many people the Mantinean territory supported at the end of the 19th century, when the area was overpopulated, but still mainly self-sufficient and non-motorized. As will be shown below such a calculation experiment supports their calculations.

IV. Using the Modern Population as a Measure of the Ancient One

An alternative way of estimating how many people an area could have supported in antiquity is to compare with how many people the same area supported at the end of the 19th century, at a time when the Peloponnese was overpopulated, but still largely self-sufficient and nonmotorized. This alternative model has one advantage to that of Hodkinson and Hodkinson – it can quite easily be extrapolated over large areas, and thus enables us to form a picture of the differences in population that the territories of different *poleis* could have supported. Even if this model as well as the model used by Hodkinson and Hodkinson will never enable us to estimate the factual population of any specific *polis* at a specific time, it should still give us a certain idea of, for instance, whether Tegea had a larger population than Mantinea, and of how much larger the Tegean population was than, for instance, that of Asea, or that of the whole Mainalian tribe.³⁷

As a basis for this alternative model I have chosen the census of 1896. The population of Arkadia grew heavily from the beginning of Greek independence un-

36 Nielsen (in press) argues for Megalopolis having had a smaller territory, only consisting of ca. 400 square kilometres, at the time of its founding. We do not know how fast Megalopolis expanded to include the 1,500 square kilometres it measured in its heyday, but if we assume that Megalopolis had a population of ca. 70,000 in 318 BC, then the territory at that time must have exceeded at least 1,000 square kilometres in order to feed the population.

37 As an example of a similar approach, cf. e.g. Pikoulas (1987) 135.

til the end of the 19th century.³⁸ Still Arkadia was at the end of last century quite isolated and mainly self-sufficient. The first carriage road connecting Tripolis with the coast was not constructed until 1856, and the Tripolis-Corinth-Athens railroad, which finally put an end to the isolation of the landscape was not built until 1891, with the extension to Kalamata being completed in 1896.³⁹ The population of Arkadia as a whole continued to grow from 1896 until the Second World War, but this growth was made possible by modernization within the agricultural sphere. However, this growth was not constant, as some villages were heavily involved in the first wave of emigration to America at the turn of the century and thus show temporary cuts in their population between 1896 and 1920.⁴⁰

As borders for Tegea, Mantinea, Orchomenos and Pallantion I have used the ones suggested by M. Jost. These borders are also reproduced in Fig. 1. The only comments I have on these borders are the following. The southern part of the Tegean territory with the old Tegean demes Oion and Karyai belonged in the Classical period to Lakadaimonia with Oion and Karyai being perioikic settlements. Oion has recently been located close to the modern village of Kerasea, and Karyai close to the modern village of Vourvoura.⁴¹ I have calculated Tegea's population in two different ways; first as the population of the whole territory suggested by Jost, and then I have subtracted the population of those modern villages which are located close to Oion and Karyai (Blachokerasea, Kerasea, Alepochorion, Pigadakia and Vourvoura). The territory of Orchomenos might on the other hand be somewhat too small on Jost's map. Above all I would like to enlarge the Orchomenian territory somewhat towards the southwest. We know that Orchomenos in the early fourth century BC was the head of a *synteleia* comprising apart from Orchomenos also Methydrion, Thisoa and Teuthis.⁴² This *synteleia* would hardly make sense if Orchomenos did not control the pass at modern Vlacherna, over which the most logical road from Orchomenos to the three other *poleis* must have passed.⁴³ I have therefore calculated also the population of Orchomenos in two different ways; first for the territory suggested by Jost, and then I have added the population of the modern villages of Vlacherna and Plesia.⁴⁴

Another problem when trying to use the modern population as a measure of the ancient one in southeastern Arkadia is what to do with the quite substantial popula-

38 Panagiotopoulos (1987).

39 Gritsopoulos (1976), 407–410; 498.

40 As an example it could be mentioned that the population of Kandreva (671–665–502), Barbizza (175–165–156), Paparis (548–473–430) and Marmaria (142–122–104) fell from 1896 to 1907 and 1920, whereafter the population started to grow again. At the same time other villages in the same southern Mainalian area grew from 1896 to 1907 and 1920. As examples one could mention Lianos (121–126–135) and Maniatis (155–182–199).

41 For Oion and Karyai and their locations, cf. Pikoulas (1987) 135–139 and Shipley (1997) 233–234 and 238–239.

42 For this *synteleia*, see Nielsen (1996a) 232–236; Nielsen (1996c) 84–86.

43 For two possible traces of the Orchomenos-Methydrion road, see Pikoulas (1999) nos. 18 and 19–20.

44 Meyer (1939) 889 suggests that the border between Methydrion, Kaphyai and Orchomenos would have been located somewhat to the west of Vlacherna (Bezenikos). For a similar opinion cf. also Dušanić (1978) 352–356 and Pikoulas (1990–91) 151.

tion of Tripolis (11,754 inhabitants in 1896⁴⁵). The population of Tripolis was undoubtedly the first to be supported partially by imports from outside Arkadia, but in the end of the last century the town must still largely have been supported by its neighbouring agricultural communities. In order to facilitate the calculations I have ignored the existence of possible imports, and divided the population of Tripolis in two equal parts, assigning them to Tegea and Mantinea. By doing so I am well aware of being too generous towards Mantinea, as Tripolis lies within the ancient territory of Tegea. I have assigned no part of the population of Tripolis to Pallantion, but on the other hand I have assigned the whole population of the modern village of Thanas (859 inhabitants in 1896) to Pallantion, even though it is located on the border between the territories of Pallantion and Tegea.

The territory of the Mainalian tribe is not indicated on Jost's map, nor has any attempt to establish its borders been made so far. Still, the borders are quite easy to follow at least in the southeast and the northwest. In the southeast Mainalian territory is separated from Lakedaemonia by a large, inhospitable and arid area, which still today is uninhabited, apart from some small villages mainly supporting themselves by herding goats and sheep (Maurogiannis, Kouvelia, Kaltesai and Agriakona). In the northwest Mainalian territory is bordered by the Rapouni mountain, which also is largely uninhabited today. To the south of the Rapouni mountain the Helisson river for some way clearly constitutes a border line, excluding modern villages like Vangos from the Mainalian territory. The southwestern border is more difficult to draw, but thanks to recent work in this area, above all by Pikoulas, we can today locate Oresthasion and Haimoniai and the Lakedaemonian perioikic settlements Belmina (Chelmos), Leuktron and Malea.⁴⁶ It is on the basis of this new information that the Mainalian border in the southwest has been drawn in Fig. 1.

If we look at the calculations in Fig. 2 we notice that the census of 1896 is well chosen in the sense that it gives roughly the same results for the population of Tegea, Mantinea and Orchomenos, as the ones we reached on the basis of the few historical sources mentioning the army strengths of these *poleis*. The figures reached in Fig. 2 should of course not be taken at face value, but they suggest that in a premodern society the maximum carrying capacity of the Tegean territory (not including Oion and Karyai) is ca. 22,000–27,000 inhabitants, of the Mantinean territory ca. 12,000–15,000 and of the Orchomenian territory (including the villages of Vlacherna and Plesia) ca. 5,000–6,000. Furthermore, the whole Mainalian territory could support as many inhabitants as the Mantinean.

45 I have reached this figure by adding the population of the following communities, all of which today are suburbs of Tripolis, to the figure of Tripolis' population: Mantzagra (424), Mbasiakou (488) and Sechi (378).

46 Cf. Pikoulas (1988) no. 60 (Oresthasion), no. 45 (Haimoniai), no. 70 (Belmina), no. 92 (Leuktron) and no. 91 (Malea). For Haimoniai, cf. also Roy, Lloyd and Owens (1992) 185–190. Pikoulas (1989) 157–160 considers Oresthasion to be a Lakonian perioikic settlement from the mid-sixth century BC until 371 BC. There cannot be any doubt that Oresthasion was heavily influenced by Sparta, but I still think that it belonged to Mainalia. C.f. e.g. Tellon, son of Damon, Olympic victor in 472 BC, who once is described as an Oresthasian and once as a Mainalian (Moretti 1957, 92, no. 231).

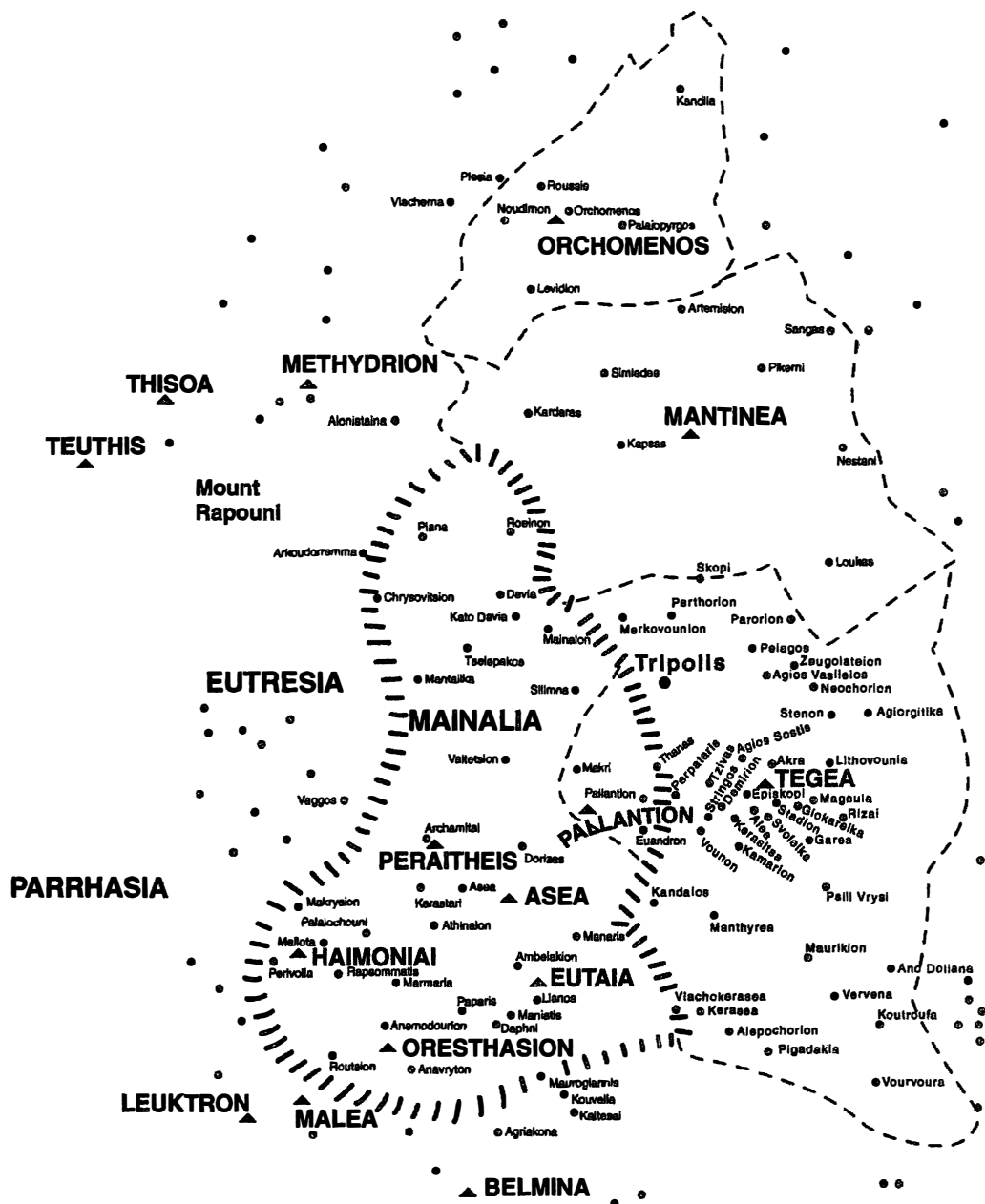


Fig. 1. Arkadia

Fig. 2. The population of some southeastern Arkadian *poleis* as compared to the population of modern villages in the same area

In this table the name of the village of today (as written on the map Hellenic Military Service 1:250,000 from 1979) is given, then the name of the village in 1896* (if this differs from the modern one) and finally the population of these villages in the census of 1896, as given e.g. by Chouliarakis (1974) 192–194 and 196–197.

Tegea except Oion and Karyai

Perpataris (Mouzaki*)	113
Stringos	234
Vounon	600
Garouni	28
Tzivas	400
Demirion	181
Kerasitsa	512
Kamarion	502
Alea (Piali*)	557
Stadion (Achouria*)	701
Giokareika	107
Svoleika	196
Episkopi (Imbrachim Efenti*)	200
Agios Sostis	173
Akra (Mertsasousi*)	108
Rizai	939
Magoula	377
Garea (Meimetaga*)	342
Stenon (Steno Mouchli*)	656
Agiorgitika	656
Lithovounia	204
Parthenion (Verzova*)	1,730
Neochorion	768
Agios Vasileios	506
Zeugolateion (Zeugolateio Kainourio*)	636
Pelagos (Bosouna*)	342
Parorion (Parori*)	140
Skopi (Benteni Megalo*)	383
Merkovounion	454
Perthorion (Perithori*)	537
Kandalos (Zeli*)	371
Manthyrea (Kapareli*)	494
Psili Vrysi (Manesi*)	330
Maurikion	442
Ano Doliana	1,649
Vervena	1,602
Koutroufa	142
50% of the population of Tripolis	5,877
	24,189

Tegea according to Jost (1985)

Tegea except Oion and Karyai	24,189
Blachokerasea	1,509
Kerasea (Arvanitokerasia*)	901
Alepochorion	328
Pigadakia	341
Vourvoura	752
	28,020

Mantineia

Loukas	956
Nestani (Tsipiana*)	2,143
Kapsas (Kapsia*)	866
Kardaras	196
Simiades	435
Artemision (Kakouri*)	1,129
Pikerni	777
Sangas	821
50% of the population of Tripolis	5,877
	13,200

Orchomenos according to Jost (1985)

Levidion	2,411
Orchomenos (Kalpaki*)	74
Palaiopyrgos (Bontia*)	753
Kandila	1,454
Noudimon	37
Roussis	54
	4,783

Orchomenos including the villages of Vlacherna and Plesia

Orchomenos according to Jost (1985)	4,783
Vlacherna (Bezenikos)	591
Plesia	23
	5,397

Pallantion

Makri (Boleta*)	319
Thanas	859
Pallantion (Besiri*)	395
Euandron (Berbati*)	173
	1,746

Southern Mainalia except Pallantion

Arachamitai	248
Kerastari	222
Asea (Kandreva*)	671
Dorizas	378
Manaris	614
Athinaion (Alyka*)	383
Ambelakion (Barbizza*)	175
Marmaria	142
Lianos	121

Paparis	548
Daphni (Koutroubouchi*)	253
Maniatis	155
Anavryton (Gardiki*)	541
Anemodourion	546
Routsion	202
Rapsommatis	313
Mallota (Tsapoga*)	199
Perivolia (Rousvanaga*)	432
Makryision (Salesi*)	349
Palaiochouni	71
	6,563
<i>Northern Mainalia</i>	
Valtetsion	1,041
Silimna	856
Mantaiika	84
Tselepakos	223
Mainalon (Zarakova*)	286
Kato Davia	154
Davia	216
Roeinon (Roino*)	981
Piana	709
Chrysovitsion (Stovitsi*)	535
Arkoudorremma	35
	5,120

Concerning the individual Mainalian communities, Pallantion could as a maximum have supported some 1,500–2,000 inhabitants (cf. Fig. 2). Approximate numbers of the other southern Mainalian communities could also be given as they have all been securely located. The maximum carrying capacity of Oresthasion would thus probably be the same as the population of the modern villages of Anemodourion, Anavryton and Routsion (1,289 inhabitants), and that of Haimoniai the same as the population of Makryision, Mallota, Perivolia, Rapsommatis and Palaiochouni (1,364 inhabitants). Peraithis could hardly have had a larger population than Arachamitai and Kerastari (470 inhabitants), and Eutaia than Paparis, Daphni, Maniatis and Lianos (1,077 inhabitants), thus leaving the villages of Athinaion, Marmaria, Asea, Dorizas, Manaris and Ambelakion (2,363 inhabitants) to constitute the population of Asea. A more approximate estimate would be that Asea could have supported a population of ca. 2,000–3,000 inhabitants, Oresthasion, Haimoniai and Eutaia one of ca. 1,000–1,500 and Peraithis one of ca. 300–600.

The population of the individual northern Mainalian communities is much more difficult to establish. We know somewhat more about two of them, Dipaia and Helisson, which both survived the synoikism of Megalopolis.⁴⁷ The rest of the northern Mainalian communities are merely names to us – Iasaia (?), Lykaia, Soumateion and Mainalos⁴⁸ – thus perhaps indicating that they were of less importance, and thus

47 Cf. Nielsen (1996a) 139–142 with all references.

48 For these, cf. Nielsen (1996a) 139 and Table 6 with further references. For the possible locations of Dipaia, Helisson, Lykaia, Soumateion and Mainalos, cf. Pikoulas (1999) Appendix II.

probably had a smaller population. If, for instance, Dipaia and Helisson had a population similar to that of Oresthasion, Haimoniai and Eutaia, i.e. ca. 1,000–1,500, then the rest of the northern Mainalian communities cannot have supported more inhabitants than Peraitheis, i.e. ca. 300–600.

V. Population and Political Strength

The political strength of a state is to a large extent based on the size of its population. The way a state is organized is also of some importance for its political strength. A centrally governed state is usually stronger than a loose federation with a slow and at times even unclear process of decision-making.

Traditionally Tegea and Mantinea have been considered equally large, perhaps partly because they waged war against each other more or less regularly. This is a picture that should be abandoned. All models applied above (cf. also Fig. 3) show that Tegea had a considerably larger population than Mantinea.⁴⁹ Tegea could actually have had a population almost twice as large as that of Mantinea. Mantinea again can be described as being roughly twice as large as Orchomenos. Taking this into account Mantinea must constantly have felt threatened by Tegea, as was Orchomenos by Mantinea. On the other hand Mantinea was probably large enough to make it impossible for the Tegeans to subdue it and the same probably also goes for Orchomenos vis-à-vis Mantinea.

Fig. 3. Estimates of the population of Tegea, Mantinea and Orchomenos based on different models

	On the basis of army figures	Poss. urban population	Hodkinson & Hodkinson	Carrying capacity as in the census of 1896
Tegea	min. 16,000–20,000	15,000–19,000		22,000–27,000
Mantineia	max. 14,000–18,000	10,000–12,000	11,500–14,500	12,000–15,000
Orchomenos	min. 6,000–8,000			5,000–6,000

The only possible direction for Tegea and Mantinea to expand was towards the Mainalian tribe in the west. None of these communities was large enough to be able to resist Tegea or Mantinea on its own. One way of resisting expansionistic attempts from Tegea and Mantinea was to lean towards Sparta, and hope that it would oppose any such attempts. Another possibility for the individual Mainalian communities was to collaborate with each other against their expansionistic neighbours. Nielsen

49 Rune Frederiksen who is preparing an MA thesis on Greek theatres informs me that the 4th century BC theatre of Mantinea could accommodate ca. 4,000 spectators as compared to ca. 6,000–6,500 spectators for the Late Hellenistic theatre of Tegea. If one assumes that the size of the theatre in a *polis* is a retrojection of the largeness of its population, then the difference in seating capacity of the Tegean and Mantinean theatres would constitute yet another proof of Tegea having had a larger population than Mantinea.

has recently suggested that the creation of the Mainalian tribe, possibly in the beginning of the fifth century B.C., should be seen in this light.⁵⁰

The Mainalian territory as a whole could without doubt have supported a population comparable to that of Mantinea. Thus a united Mainalian tribe should have been able to defend itself against Mantinea or even Tegea. However, the Mainalian tribe cannot be considered a successful defensive pact. The reason for this failure might lie in organisational problems. Although we know nothing about the political organisation of the Mainalian tribe, there must have existed some kind of a tribal authority, which selected the tribal officials for the Arkadian Confederacy in 370 BC. Furthermore we know that the Arkadian tribal states were able to control sanctuaries, raise armies, strike coins and enter into alliances. Still the small *poleis* or communities belonging to these tribal states probably had their own political organisations and were able to wage war or ratify treaties of their own.⁵¹ This must have been a weakness which easily broke the tribe apart.

Let us finally see if the population estimates suggested above can help us in understanding the remarkable construction of the Mantinean *symmachia*. Recently Nielsen has discussed the Mantinean *symmachia* in detail.⁵² Our principal source for the Mantinean *symmachia* is Thucydides (4.134.1–2; 5.28.3–29.2; 5.33.1–3; 5.47; 5.67.2; 5.81.1). From his description we know that the *symmachia* had been created by 423 BC and that it included at least some of the Mainalians, apart from the Parrhasians. Thucydides' description gives the impression that the *symmachia* had been created by force (cf. Thuc. 5.29.1 – κατέσπραπτο ὑπήκοον) and the Mantineans even maintained a garrison in Parrhasia. The *symmachia* was clearly hegemonic and the Parrhasians were obviously not *autonomoi* while under Mantinean rule.

Keeping the suggested population figures in mind it seems surprising that Mantinea would have been able to conquer by force an area consisting of at least half of the Mainalian tribe⁵³ in addition to the whole Parrhasian one. If the Mainalian tribe is to be understood as a defensive pact, then a Mantinean occupation of some Mainalian communities would have been resisted by the whole Mainalian tribe. I have not tried to calculate the possible Parrhasian population in this paper, but I have shown that the Mainalian territory very well could have supported a population as large as the Mantinean one. Consequently the combined Mainalian and Parrhasian populations must have been clearly larger than the Mantinean one. Could the Mantinean *symmachia* then have been created in any other way than by use of force?

The largest Arkadian *polis* Tegea was a loyal ally of Sparta from the middle of the fifth century BC until 370 BC.⁵⁴ Logically Tegea together with Sparta should have dominated the small Mainalian and Parrhasian communities. We do not know

50 Nielsen (1996b) 132–143.

51 Cf. Nielsen (1996a) 147, 188–190. The only Mainalian *polis*, of whose constitution we have any information, is Helisson.

52 The following description is mainly based on Nielsen (1996c) 79–86. Cf. also Pikoulas (1990) 474–480 for a discussion on the efforts of Mantinea, Tegea and Sparta to control the Mainalian and Parrhasian tribes.

53 In order to have passage to Parrhasia, Mantinea had to control at least Haimoniai and Peraithis apart from all the northern Mainalian *poleis*. Cf. e.g. Nielsen (1996a) 246.

54 Nielsen (1996a) 218–220.

much about Tegea in this period, but the fact that Tegea in 423 BC fought a battle against the Mantineans in Oresthis (Oresthasion) seems to indicate that Tegea was the head of another hegemonic *symmachia* which saw the creation of the Mantinean *symmachia* as a *casus belli*. We do not know how large an area was subdued by this Tegean *symmachia*, but it probably consisted at least of the southern Mainalian *po-leis* Pallantion, Asea, Eutaia and Oresthasion.⁵⁵ Let us assume that it consisted of all the Mainalians, while the Parrhasians were controlled by Sparta.

Let us furthermore assume that the Mainalians, or at least part of them, were not pleased with their position in the Tegean *symmachia*. As Tegea was so powerful the Mainalians needed help from another powerful *polis* in order to revolt. As Tegea was a loyal ally of Sparta, and probably the most important Arkadian ally of Sparta, no help was to be expected from the Lakedaimonians. The only choice left in this situation would have been Mantinea. Mantinea was smaller than Tegea, actually about the same size as the Mainalian tribe, and could in that sense have seemed to be a fitting ally. Furthermore Mantinea felt threatened by Tegea, and therefore always looked for allies in order to be able to protect itself. So Mantinea sent troops to Mainalia on the request of the Mainalians. Some of the Mainalian communities perhaps resisted calling in the Mantineans, correctly fearing that they would be drawn into yet another hegemonic *symmachia*. These communities would then have been forced to obedience by the Mantineans. Tegea could of course not accept the incursion of the Mantineans, and therefore sent troops which fought the Mantineans in Oresthis 423 B.C. The outcome of the battle was unclear, and as a consequence Mainalia was divided into two.

Now let us assume that some of the Parrhasians were impressed by the fact that Tegea did not manage to beat the Mantineans in the battle of 423 BC and asked Mantinea to intervene in Parrhasia. We do not know exactly when this happened. The Parrhasians were certainly among the Mantinean allies by 421 BC, but it is unknown for how long they had been so. Thucydides (5.29.1) says that the Mantineans allied themselves to Argos 421 BC, because they feared that Sparta would not accept their dominance of their allies. Thucydides (5.33.1) also mentions the Parrhasians as belonging to the Mantinean *symmachia* for the first time in 421 BC. This could indicate that the Parrhasians were subdued by the Mantinean *symmachia* sometime between 423 and 421 BC.

Thucydides (5.33.1) finally mentions that the Lakedaimonians were called in by the Parrhasians in 421 BC as a result of a *stasis* among the Parrhasians. We are not told what this quarrel was about, but as Nielsen correctly points out, it probably refers to the fact that some of the Parrhasians were for the Mantineans, whereas some were against them.⁵⁶ This could be taken as evidence for the Mantineans having been invited only by a small group of the Parrhasians. Sparta drove the Mantineans out of Parrhasia and pulled down the Mantinean fort there. Thus 'order' was restored in Parrhasia, but the Mantineans were not compelled to leave the northern Mainalian territory until after the battle at Mantinea in 418 BC.⁵⁷

55 Nielsen (1996a) 244 and Nielsen (1996c) 86.

56 Nielsen (1996a) 267.

57 Thuc. 5.81.1. Nielsen (1996a) 246–249; Nielsen (1996c) 80–83.

This new sketch of the creation of the Mantinean *symmachia* is of course highly hypothetical, but it is more in accordance with the fact, too long ignored, that Mantinea was neither as large nor as powerful as Tegea.

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THE SHIFTING FOCUS OF SETTLEMENT AT MILETOS¹

by

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Introduction

When one studies the development of ancient cities it is sometimes interesting and necessary to look beyond the immediate confines of the city in question, both chronologically and geographically, and see the city as a dynamic entity, which moves and changes within a longer timescale, as does the geographical environment in which it finds itself. It would be impossible to write a fully detailed description of the geographical surroundings of Miletos and its history from earliest times to the present day in a single article. Yet only by doing so can we gain an overview of how the city evolved over time. In this article I would like to present a brief physical description of the area immediately surrounding the ancient city of Miletos and the features that made it such an ideal location for settlement. I will then consider where the city located itself in relation to those physical features as it moved over time according to changing historical and geographical factors and the primary needs of any community: defence, communications and water-supply.

Physical Background: The City-Peninsula

Miletos was located on a small peninsula on the northern side of the larger Milesia Peninsula on the western coast of Asia Minor. When one considers the history of Miletos, or any ancient place, it is important to be aware that the geographical setting of archaeological sites is not fixed and can have changed since antiquity. In prehistoric times the small city-peninsula of Miletos was an archipelago of islands which became conjoined only at a later date.² Also, in later antiquity the area around Miletos was subject to silting by the Maeander (modern Büyük Menderes) river

1 This article started life as a paper for the Symposium on Mediterranean Archaeology at Edinburgh (February 1997), and I am grateful to those who attended for their useful comments. I am also grateful to Roger Brock, Lene Rubinstein, Mogens Hansen and Tobias Fischer-Hansen for their advice and suggestions. I would also like to thank the University of Leeds School of Geography for assisting me in producing figure two. The purpose of this article is to discuss the changes that took place in settlement at the site of Miletos over a very long period of time and does not concentrate on any particular period. It is hoped that this will introduce colleagues to some of the published material currently available on the site, recent archaeological developments and possible future lines of enquiry.

2 Brückner (1998).

which left it isolated from the sea on a large alluvial plain.³ For the majority of its history, the city-peninsula is thought to have been approximately 1.8 km long (north to south) and 1.2 km broad at its widest point, being roughly triangular in shape, tapering towards the north with several indentations on the western side and with several defensible hills and naturally-formed harbours. It is necessary briefly to discuss the outstanding geographical characteristics of this site before considering the city's precise location in respect of them.⁴

There are several low hills on or near the city-peninsula which were important in the development of the city (see figure one). The northernmost hill is Humeitepe⁵ (26.3 m above current sea-level at its highest point), the northern and western sides of which are precipitous with steep cliff-like edges, nearly 20 m high in places while the top of the hill is relatively flat and stony. To the south-west of Humeitepe, on the opposite side of the Lion Harbour is Kaletepe⁶ (28 m high⁷); the western side of Kaletepe is extremely steep, like that of Humeitepe, the northern and eastern sides slope more gently and the southern side is almost totally obscured by the Roman theatre, but it too must originally have been steep. South of Kaletepe and the Theatre Harbour is the Stadium Hill, which is low-lying (only 10 m high) and indistinct with no steep sides to give it defensible advantage. To the south-west of the city-peninsula and slightly inland is the hill of Kalabaktepe which has steeply sloping edges in all directions and a relatively flat top, although this is partly the result of ancient terracing. At its highest point Kalabaktepe is 57.2 m high, with a terrace on its eastern side, at a height of about 36 m. Other hills of historical interest near the city-peninsula include: Deg'irmentepe, 1.5 km south-east of Miletos, west of Kalabaktepe, which was the site of the Late Bronze Age nekropolis;⁸ Zeytintepe, a low hill north of Deg'irmentepe, which was the site of an Archaic temple of Aphrodite;⁹ and Kazartepe, a low mound to the south-east of Kalabaktepe near Yeni-Balat which was the nekropolis of Hellenistic and Roman Miletos.¹⁰ These hills present a choice of defensible locations, each with its own advantages and disadvantages.

The city-peninsula was also endowed with good natural harbours, and Strabo (14.1.6) tells us that it had four harbours, one of which was large enough for a fleet. The exact location of the harbours mentioned by Strabo is uncertain as there are several places on the peninsula where such harbours could have existed, although the Lion Harbour, Theatre Harbour and another harbour to the east of Humei Tepe appear secure.¹¹ It is difficult for the modern visitor to Miletos to discern where

3 Aksu *et al.* (1987b) and Brückner (1998).

4 For topographical studies of the Miletos city-peninsula see *Milet* 2.3 and Voigtländer (1985).

5 Sometimes known as Home Tepe.

6 Also known as the Theatre Hill.

7 It is impossible to estimate what the exact original height of the Kaletepe may have been as it is now obscured by the Byzantine fortress and was probably leveled off in antiquity.

8 Niemeier and Niemeier (1997).

9 For excavation reports see U. Gans (1991); R. Senff (1992); M. Heinz & R. Senff (1995); and R. Senff & M. Heinz (1997).

10 Işık (1986); Parakenings & Kerschner (1991).

11 Brückner (1998) 251.

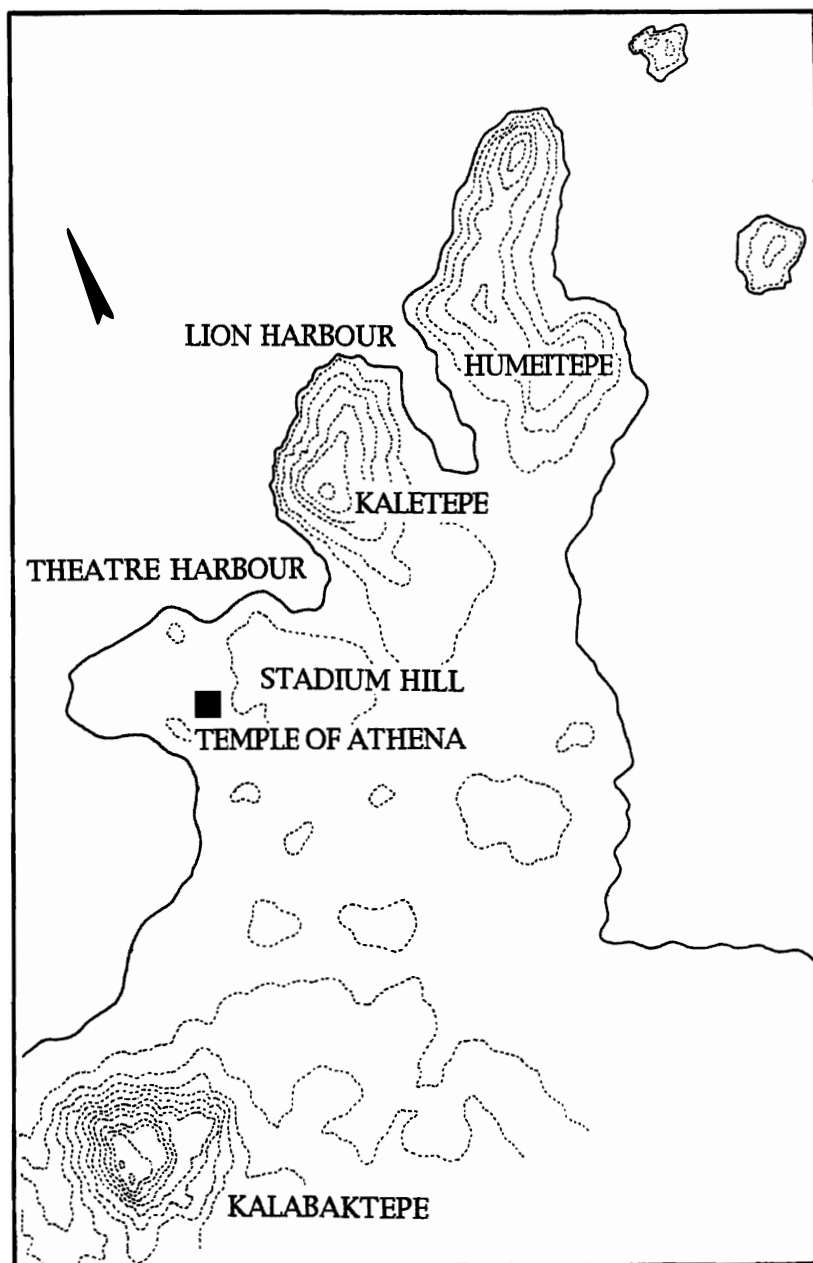


Figure One: The city-peninsula and its immediate environs.

these harbours were located as they have been silted up by the alluvial action of the Büyük Menderes river. Figure two is a G.I.S. projection of the contours of the peninsula as it is now, showing the presumed ancient sea level, highlighted here in grey to emphasise the harbours. The shape of the city's two most important harbours, the Lion Harbour and the Theatre Harbour, is quite clear when visualised in this way. These harbours on the western side of the city-peninsula would also have been sheltered from storms by the island of Ladé.¹² The Lion Harbour has been the subject of a great deal of recent geological and geophysical research aimed at learning more about its precise depth and shape, and to find traces of moles or other harbour constructions.¹³ This research so far suggests that it was of a good shape and depth for ancient ships. The Theatre Harbour, to the south of the Lion Harbour, is less well understood but was, initially at least, the most important harbour in Miletos and the focus of the prehistoric and Archaic harbour-town.¹⁴ These harbours would have been essential for long-distance communications and the Milesian Islands¹⁵ would have provided useful staging posts for longer journeys and for shelter and safe anchorage from Aegean storms. The harbours would also have been very important as a base for fishing, which was an important part of ancient economies and diets.

Miletos' roads were of less importance than its harbours for communications, even for local transport,¹⁶ but there was probably a network of local roads in the Lower Maeander Valley¹⁷ and two ancient roads are known to have existed near Miletos: the Sacred Way which went south from Miletos to Didyma¹⁸ and a Roman road which probably went east towards Assesos.¹⁹ The Maeander Valley was a major communications artery for land transport and could also be used for river transport because although the river is not ideal for ships, especially where there was braiding in its upper courses, it would have been navigable by small rafts.²⁰

In terms of water-supply, the city-peninsula was not supplied with rivers or abundant springs, and water was probably obtained from wells. It is hard to say exactly how far below the ground surface the water-table was in antiquity because

12 This island is now a low hill on the alluvial plain of the Büyük Menderes, near the modern village of Batıköy, 2.50 km to the north-west of the city-peninsula of Miletos. This island would have sheltered the mouths of ancient Miletos' harbours from winds coming into the Gulf of Latmos from the open sea to the west.

13 Brückner (1995 & 1998); Wille (1995); Stümpel *et al.* (1995) 252–3, Stümpel *et al.* (1997) 128–130.

14 Kleiner (1968) 48.

15 During certain periods in its history Miletos controlled several small islands in the seas nearby including Patmos, Leros, Pharmakoussa and Ladé.

16 Many parts of Miletos' *chora* and its possessions in the Maeander Valley, Latmos and the Milesian Islands were best reached by sea. For example a ferry service (πορθμύς) operated between Miletos and Ionipolis: *Milet* 1.3, n. 150, line 99ff. and Cook (1961) 96–7. Bulk items, such as building stones, were transported to Panormos by sea and carried from there to Didyma via the Sacred Way, Flemming *et al.* (1973) 34–37.

17 Marchese (1986) 139–42.

18 *Milet* 1.3, n. 133. Although dated to 450/49 BC, this practice and the road itself, appear to date from an earlier (i.e. Archaic) period.

19 Known from a milestone found at Akyeniköy, French (1981) 81, no. 209.

20 Marchese (1986) 141. See Baran (1965) 87, Plate 1.

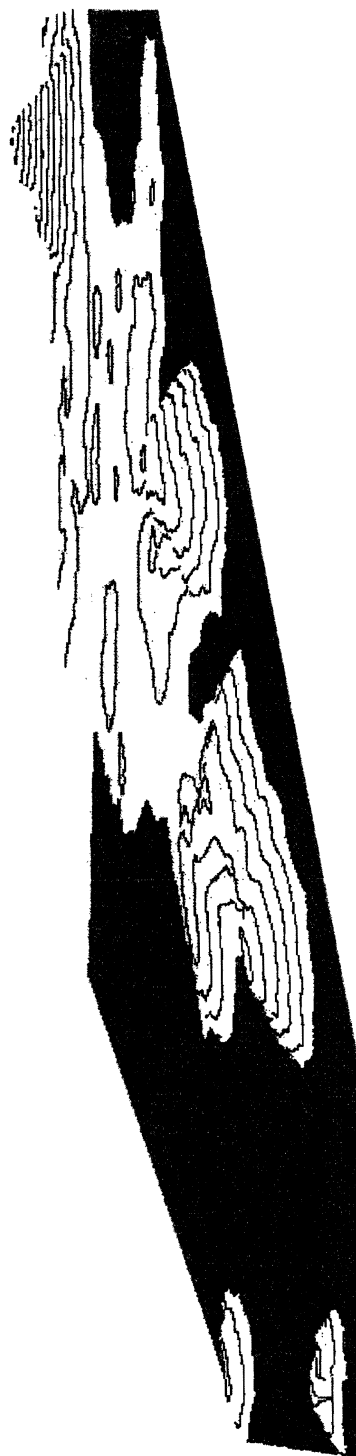


Figure Two: GIS visualisation of the city-peninsula.

tectonic changes in the Aegean have resulted in a significant rise in the level of the water-table at Miletos in the last two millenia and the water-table is clearly higher now than it was in prehistory, submerging the earliest archaeological levels.²¹ Numerous wells and cisterns have been excavated in Miletos and there is a reference to a well of Achilles at Miletos in Athenaios (2.43d). There was at least one Archaic well-grotto nearby, on the plain between Kalabaktepe and the Theatre Harbour.²² The majority of ancient Miletos' water-supply must have been met by these wells until the construction of the city's main aqueduct in the Roman period.²³

To summarise, the physical characteristics of the city-peninsula were good for human settlement: it had several defensible hills and was in itself a defensible peninsula; it had several good natural harbours which facilitated seaborne communication and was reasonably well positioned in relation to land transport; and, although lacking obvious water sources, it was close enough to the water-table to make well-construction relatively simple.

Miletos' Development Over Time

The geography of Miletos is such that the northern coastal plain is the area which would be most attractive for ancient settlement, being flat, fertile and relatively well-watered, and this is where Miletos stood. This narrow plain lies to the north of the Stephanian Hills and as the exposed edge of these cliffs is eroded, or slips as the result of seismic activity,²⁴ a deep layer of colluvium has been deposited over the plain, burying earlier settlement and evidence from the earliest periods.²⁵ Fieldwalking therefore would not necessarily recover pottery of the very earliest periods of human occupation in this part of Miletos; the most important early sites so far identified have been on either hilltop (e.g. Killiktepe²⁶) or coastal locations (e.g. Kümüradas²⁷ and Altinkum Plajı²⁸). It is only with occasional finds from deep excavations, such as modern construction works or the recent deep excavations at the Temple of Athena, that early material from nearer Miletos itself is coming to light.²⁹

21 On changes in water-level see Flemming *et al.* (1973) 34. On the effect this has had on archaeological exploration see Weickert (1957) 104; Mee (1978) 134; and Niemeier and Niemeier (1997) 209–211.

22 *Milet* 1.8, 40 and 118.

23 See below, n. 69.

24 It is now being recognised that landslips and rockfalls are one of the more damaging consequences of earthquake activity (Stiros and Jones [1996]).

25 Cf. Snodgrass on Boiotia (Snodgrass [1987] 108–109).

26 Voigtländer (1983). Killiktepe is a high and relatively inaccessible hill, 2.5 km to the south, which overlooks the city-peninsula. Pot scatters here date from the Neolithic to Early Bronze Age, although there is no secure evidence yet for occupation at the site.

27 Voigtländer (1986 and 1988).

28 Gebel (1984).

29 See Niemeier, forthcoming, on Neolithic material from near Yeniköy and Chalcolithic material from the Temple of Athena site. The excavations at the Temple of Athena use an advanced well-point vacuum pump system to excavate deep strata below the current sea-level: see Niemeier and Niemeier (1997) 210–211.

The earliest evidence for settlement at the site of Miletos itself comes from the area around the later Temple of Athena which stood near the Theatre Harbour (see figure one). There is evidence for settlement in the Athena Temple area from the Chalcolithic, Early Bronze Age and Middle Bronze Age periods.³⁰ There is as yet only limited architectural evidence for settlement at Miletos in these periods, but the Temple of Athena/Theatre Harbour area already appears to have been the favoured location for settlement, although settlement in other places cannot be ruled out.³¹

In the Late Bronze Age three building phases are usually ascribed to Miletos, all of which were still focussed in the Temple of Athena/Theatre Harbour area.³² During the first two of these so-called building phases the settlement was undefended. The undefended "second building-period" settlement was destroyed in the LHIIIa2 period. But in the third building phase a large defensive wall was constructed at a time when defence had clearly become a more important issue.³³ However, that desire for defence, which had inspired the construction of huge walls, did not yet warrant a total shift away from the harbour and its communications potential to one of the nearby hills.³⁴ There must have been a perceived need for access to the sea which helped maintain the wide cultural contacts which prehistoric Miletos enjoyed and which had other economic benefits.³⁵ Other than access to the sea any attractions that this area had are not immediately clear to the modern visitor as it is currently a flat, damp, low-lying and generally unpleasant spot. Recent geological research has shown that in prehistoric times, the Temple of Athena/Theatre Harbour area was very different, being an island or peninsula, and the low hills which were to form much of the later city (i.e. Kaletepe and Humeitepe) were islands.³⁶ In addition to probably having had good beaches or harbours for ships such a peninsula location, despite its low elevation, would have been defended by the sea on all sides. The

30 Niemeier, forthcoming.

31 Chalcolithic pottery is known at Miletos from excavations west of the *bouleuterion*, to the east of Kaletepe (Voigtländer [1982]) and under Heröon III (Parzinger [1989]). However, these were not from stratified contexts and cannot be used to say which other locations in the area might have been settled.

32 For major references see Weickert (1940); (1957); (1959–60); Voigtländer, 1975; Schiering (1975); (1979); Niemeier & Niemeier (1997 and forthcoming). Mee ([1987] 135–6) estimates the size of the prehistoric settlement at Miletos to be 5 hectares (50,000 m²) although there is some doubt about the accuracy of Mee's estimate (Niemeier and Niemeier [1997] 196). The first building phase had contacts with Minoan Crete and may yet be shown to have been a Minoan "colony" of some description (see Niemeier & Niemeier [1997] 242–243 discussing Branigan [1981]). The second and third building phases show much evidence of Mycenaean influence, but as no Linear B inscriptions have yet been securely identified and some Hittite influence can be seen at the site, it should not be thought of as a purely Mycenaean settlement or "colony".

33 On the walls of the "third building period" settlement see Schiering (1975); Voigtländer (1975); and C. Loader unpubl. Ph.D. thesis, Durham.

34 Only the nekropolis of the prehistoric city was located inland, on Deg'irmen-tepe, see Mee (1978) 133 and Niemeier & Niemeier (1997) 203.

35 Not just trade, but fishing which was also an important part of ancient economies and would have benefited from a coastal location.

36 Brückner (1998).

advantage of this location was therefore defence as much as, if not more than, communications.³⁷ This low-lying location had an added advantage because wells could easily be sunk here, as it is close to the water-table. Several prehistoric wells have been found at the site³⁸ and although the water in them is now brackish this is due to the sea-level changes and they must have originally been filled with sweet water.³⁹ Therefore, in the prehistoric period, the Temple of Athena/Theatre harbour area met all three of the key criteria for settlement: first and foremost, defence, but also communications and water-supply.

There is as yet no evidence for Sub-Mycenaean settlement at Miletos⁴⁰ but there was a significant Geometric period settlement in the Temple of Athena/Theatre Harbour area.⁴¹ Also in the Geometric period, and apparently for the first time, Kalabaktepe was defended and occupied, thus creating a bipartite settlement with a "harbour-town" by the Theatre Harbour and a defended citadel community on Kalabaktepe.⁴² Although such an arrangement with an upper town and a lower harbour-town is not unusual,⁴³ it marked a distinct change in the character of Miletos from a single and, for most of its history, undefended settlement in the prehistoric period. Now clearly the need for defence was so great that it had become necessary to seek more defended locations on the hilltops, perhaps in response to threats from Cimmerians, Lydians or pirates,⁴⁴ although there was still an equally important need for access to the harbour and this bipartite arrangement catered for both needs. Another very important factor which may have caused this change is the formation of the larger city-peninsula from the small peninsula and islands of the prehistoric periods (compare figures three A and B). Although it is not yet clear when this change occurred, if the original peninsula or island on which prehistoric Miletos had stood now became joined to the islands of Humeitepe and Kaletepe, the total area of the newly

37 The work of Nancy Demand has re-emphasised that defence is the most important factor in the location of ancient cities and that commerce was a secondary development (Demand [1990] 165–169).

38 For example, Schiering's plan of the early settlement near the Temple of Athena shows a total of four wells (Schiering [1975]). See also Niemeier, forthcoming.

39 On changes in water-level see Flemming *et al.* (1973) 34.

40 There is some sub-Mycenaean pottery from the Temple of Athena/Theatre Harbour area (Weickert [1957] 32 and Hommel [1959–60] pl. 52.1 and 52.2). Whether or not this period really could really be called Sub-"Mycenaean" depends on one's interpretation of the extent and nature of Mycenaean settlement at the site.

41 On the Geometric period at Miletos see Hommel (1959–60) 38–39, Coldstream (1977) 260; Snodgrass (1971) 429 and fig. 139.

42 *Milet* 1.8; and more recent work by Müller-Wiener (1986), (1987), (1988); and von Graeve (1990), (1991), (1992), (1995), (1997), (1999 forthcoming) – preliminary reports in *Istanbuler Mitteilungen* and latterly *Archäologischer Anzeiger*.

43 Examples of similar arrangements are Athens-Piraeus, Kolophon-Notion and Priene-Naulochos, although at Miletos the two parts of the town do not have a separate name and identity, as they do in the examples cited above. Perhaps a better parallel is Klazomenai where Aristotle (*Pol.* 1303b7) tells us that there was faction between those who lived on the mole and those who lived on the island, yet only a single name appears to exist for the settlement as a whole.

44 Demand (1990) 30–31, citing Boardman (1980) 28. Cobet (1997) 255 ff. A hint at increasing levels of piracy is Thucydides, 1.4ff.

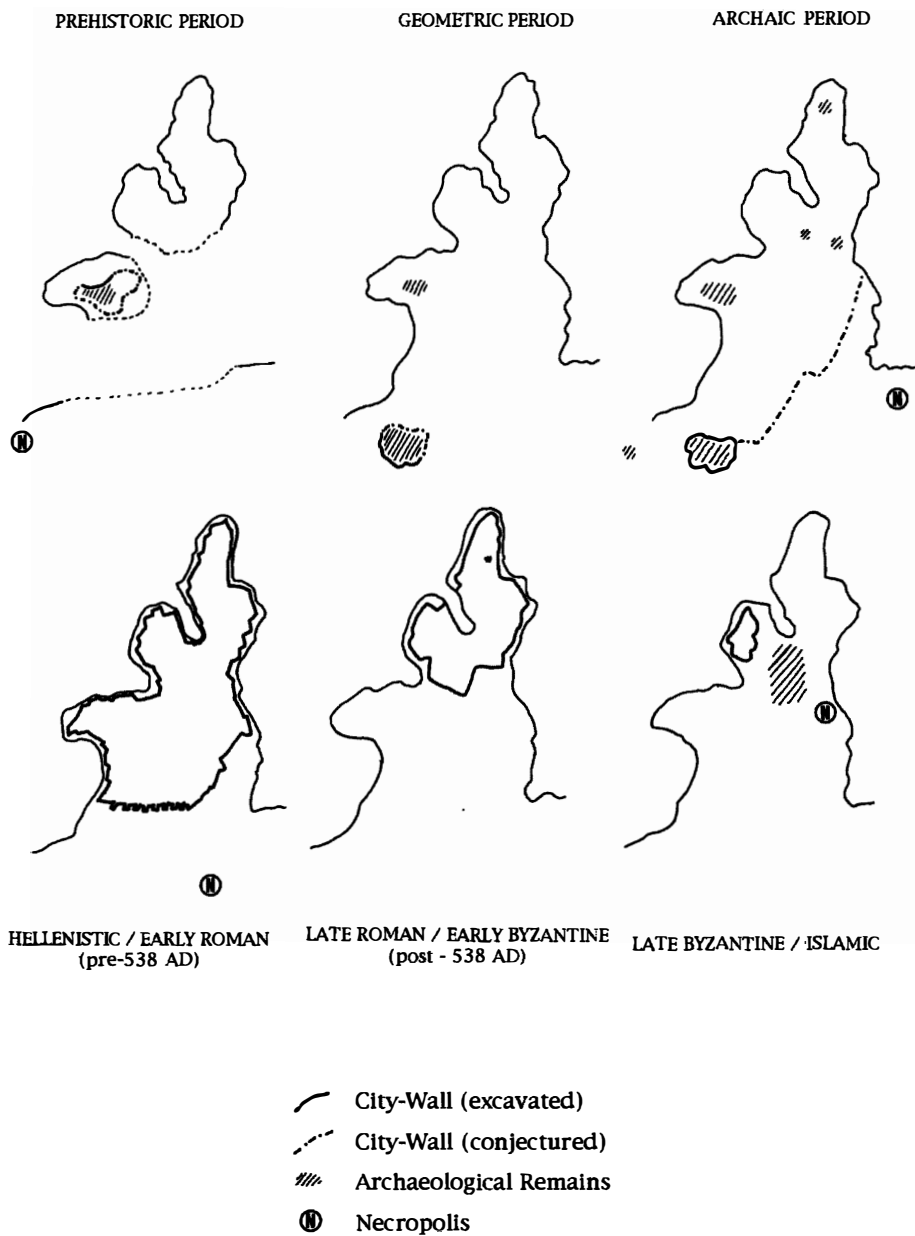


Figure Three: A rough sketch plan showing the location of Miletos over time.

formed larger city-peninsula may have been too great to be safely enclosed and defended, as the old peninsula presumably had been in the prehistoric period. From a defensive point of view, therefore, Kalabaktepe would be an obvious choice as it was high, steep-sided and could be more easily enclosed, although it was some distance from the harbours.⁴⁵

In the Archaic period Miletos was to reach its peak and this is reflected in the size of the settlement at the time, which appears to have covered a very large area.⁴⁶ The extent of Archaic Miletos' city walls is much debated⁴⁷ but Kalabaktepe appears to have been encircled with walls and on its summit a second wall has recently been found.⁴⁸ Whether the Archaic walls extended onto the plain below Kalabaktepe to enclose the whole peninsula is not yet clear.⁴⁹ Work is continuing in order to establish a clear connection between Kalabaktepe and the Sacred Gate area but excavation is hampered by the extreme depth of deposits that overlie the archaeology in this part of the site.⁵⁰ Also, the remains of any such wall may be slight, especially if it was dismantled as part of the Persian sack of 494 BC.⁵¹ As for the lower city, some or all of the city-peninsula may have been enclosed within the city walls to defend the harbour area⁵² and Miletos' considerable seapower would have helped in its defence.⁵³ The total area of contiguous urban settlement in Archaic Miletos cannot easily be determined as some areas within the presumed line of the walls may not have been intensively settled;⁵⁴ some areas are obscured by building in later history,⁵⁵ and there were important peri-urban sanctuaries outside the walls.⁵⁶ Never-

45 Kaletepe was closer to the Theatre Harbour but is not so large or high or steep-sided as Kalabaktepe and we cannot be certain if it was settled or not, due to the Byzantine castle which is sited there.

46 It may have been as much as 110 hectares (1.1 million m²). (Estimated by Müller-Wiener [1986] 98). On Archaic Miletos in general see *Milet* 1.8; Müller-Wiener (1987); von Graeve (1990); von Graeve & Senff (1991); Heinrich & Senff (1992).

47 For discussion of the Archaic city walls see: *Milet* 1.8; *Milet* 2.3; and Cobet (1997).

48 Senff, Hürmüzli & Songu (1997). Kalabaktepe appears to have been the city's akropolis, within which the small area of the summit-terrace had an inner line of defences.

49 Cobet (1997) discusses the question in detail, but conclusive evidence has yet to be found.

50 Excavations here are currently on-going under the direction of W. von Graeve (for a preliminary report see Schneider [1997]). Excavations continued close to the Sacred Gate in 1997 and 1998, but are not yet published.

51 Compare Hdt. 9.13 on the destruction of Athens by the Persians. See Weir (1995). The construction of the city walls at Athens appears to have been a stone socle with a mudbrick superstructure, possibly with a protective coat of stucco or similar. This could be easily toppled and would be harder to trace through geophysics and excavation than a wall of solid stone.

52 As Piraeus was defended by Themistokles (Thuc. 1.93.3–7 and 1.7 on walled coastal cities in general).

53 Hdt. 1.17.

54 Extensive trenching on the plains between Kalabaktepe and the Temple of Athena found limited evidence for Archaic settlement in this area, with several trenches (i.e. nos. 10 to 13) finding nothing at all (*Milet* 1.8, p. 39ff). Equally, one might expect that settlement within the Kalabaktepe walls would be more dense than in the lower town as this was the most secure area and land here would be at a premium.

55 The case of Kaletepe has already been mentioned, but any areas in the ancient city where there are Hellenistic, Roman, Byzantine or Islamic period monuments (of which there are many) cannot be investigated by archaeologists.

theless, it has been estimated that the early Archaic town may have had as many as 1,800⁵⁷ or 4,000 houses,⁵⁸ although such estimates assume contiguous settlement across the whole city-peninsula area, which has yet to be proven.

The destruction of Miletos by the Persians following the ill-fated Ionian Revolt which culminated in a sea battle off the island of Ládé, was almost total.⁵⁹ Archaeologically, there is little that can be said about Miletos in the early Classical period in general, but there appears to have been rebuilding on Kalabaktepe⁶⁰ and possibly the Stadium Hill,⁶¹ but not in the Temple of Athena/Theatre Harbour area.⁶² Persian fear of a repeat of the Ionian Revolt may have meant that Miletos was prevented from re-building its city walls, making attempts to estimate the size and location of the settlement in this period difficult. If there was a Persian garrison building at Miletos it may have been on Kaletepe.⁶³

When the town was rebuilt the walls were probably planned on the same scale and in the same location as the Archaic city, i.e. to enclose the whole city-peninsula and Kalabaktepe. A settlement on a peninsula has many advantages, but if that peninsula is too large to be safely enclosed and defended, those advantages are forfeited.⁶⁴ The optimism that assumed that Miletos would grow to fill this space was ill-founded and after the fifth century BC it must have become clear that Miletos was never going to become the city that it had once been, even when the city was synoikised with Pidasá in second century BC⁶⁵ and with Myous in first century BC,⁶⁶ which significantly increased its urban population.⁶⁷ Another defensive problem was that Kalabaktepe, Kaletepe and Humeitepe were not only defensive opportunites, but also potentially threatening vantage points from which attacks could be launched over the walls if they were left outside of the circuit of the walls.

A city which enclosed the defensible heights of Kalabaktepe and the many fine harbours of the peninsula would be ideal, but a decision had to be made between the two, as Miletos in this period was not large enough to cover the whole area effectively. Also, siege warfare was now more advanced and long land walls of the type

56 Most notably, the sanctuary of Aphrodite on Zeytintepe, see Gans (1991); Senff (1992); Heinz and Senff (1995); and Senff and Heinz (1997).

57 Hoepfner and Schwandner (1986) 12.

58 Gates (1995) 238.

59 There is considerable archaeological evidence for the destruction, and Herodotos tells us that the city was totally depopulated (Hdt. 6.19), although he appears to contradict himself later on when Milesians appear at Mykale (Hdt. 9.104).

60 *Milet* 1.8.

61 Niemeier and Niemeier (1997) 206–208.

62 Niemeier, forthcoming.

63 McNicoll (1997) citing *Milet* 2.3, 122 and Kleiner (1968) 16.

64 Many Greek colonies were founded on peninsulas to take advantage of the defensive position and good harbourage that peninsulas often provide. Small peninsulas where the settlement can command the whole peninsula are ideal, but can limit the growth of the settlement over time.

65 *Milet* 1.3, 350–357, no. 149.

66 Demand (1990) 141–142, 165–166, 171–173; Strabo 14.1.10; Pausanias, 7.2.11.

67 Survey work at the site of Pidasá, modern Cert Osman Kale, has shown that an estimated population of about 2,000 is possible, due to its size and favourable mountain location (Cook [1961] 91–6 and Radt [1973–74]).

that would have been required to link Kalabaktepe to the peninsula would be a defensive weak-spot. Probably sometime in the late second/early first century BC a cross-wall (*diateichisma*) was built cutting across the neck of the peninsula to the south of the Temple of Athena, and the area to the south of it, including all of Kalabaktepe, was abandoned never to be reoccupied.⁶⁸ This new cross-wall took a short, strong line across the neck of the peninsula for maximum defensive effect and enclosed Kaletepe and Humeitepe within its bounds. The result of this was greatly to reduce the total area occupied by the city, reduce the length of its walls, make it more defensible and bring the focus of the town closer to the harbours.

The commercial advantage of proximity to the harbours may appear at first to have been a motivating factor in the movement towards the harbours away from the traditional stronghold of Kalabaktepe. In fact, this was a secondary effect of the need to increase defence, which always takes precedence over commercial needs.⁶⁹ In the late Hellenistic and the Roman periods the city was of sufficient size safely to control the whole of the city-peninsula and keep it secure. Also, the seas around Miletos had been made safer by the campaigns of Pompey.⁷⁰ In this new situation and the changed defensive climate of the Roman period, Miletos' commercial harbours flourished and elaborate market buildings were constructed in the city.⁷¹ In the third century AD, a 2 km long aqueduct was constructed to bring water into the city from springs in the hills and feed an elaborate Nymphaeum and bath-houses.⁷² As this system brought water into the city, the need for wells and spring-houses was reduced and this must have changed life in the city considerably, as the Nymphaeum became the city's main water-supply and the focus of the Roman and post-Roman city.

In 263 AD a wall was built to repel the Goths who were ravaging Asia Minor and in 538 AD the size of the city was greatly reduced by the building of a new wall, the so-called Justinian Wall, which limited the size of the city to a secure position at the northern end of the peninsula, covering Humeitepe, Kaletepe with the Lion Harbour in between.⁷³ This is an ideal position for a small settlement in this locality.⁷⁴ As time went by, the city shrank and retreated up to the security of Kaletepe which overlooked the two main harbours. In the Byzantine and Islamic periods the region became increasingly unstable and defence became more and more important and

68 For an excellent discussion of Hellenistic Miletos and its walls see McNicoll (1997) 167–169.

69 Demand (1990) 165–167.

70 In the first century B.C. Julius Caesar himself was captured and held to ransom by pirates based on the Milesian island of Pharmakoussa (Plut., *Caes.*, 2–4). After the campaigns of Pompey in 67 BC were the seas around Miletos made safe. Pompey's action against the pirates was honoured at Miletos in 63 BC with the dedication of the Large Harbour Monument, which still stands at the head of the Lion Harbour.

71 *Milet* 1.6 & 1.7.

72 *Milet* 1.5; Crouch (1993) "Miletus" s.v.; and Tuttahs (1997). The aqueduct which supplied the Nymphaeum was c. 3300 m long and was fed by water sources 30 m above the plain, in the hills to the South (*Milet* 1.5, 9–10).

73 *Milet* 2.3.

74 This would also have been an ideal location for the smaller prehistoric settlement, had the city-peninsula existed at the time.

trade less so.⁷⁵ In the tenth and eleventh centuries AD Kaletepe was fortified and the new defended focus of the city became the castle here, where a deep well supplied it with water. There was a change in the communications potential of the city as the Gulf of Latmos silted up. The discovery of Late Antique amphora and pot fragments in the cores taken from the Lion Harbour at a depth of only 3 m suggests that the silting-up of the harbour was well-advanced by this period.⁷⁶ Direct land access to the Maeander Valley may have been made easier by this change and Balat existed as a caravanserai, but without its famous harbours it effectively ceased to be a place of any importance. In 1955 an earthquake destroyed Balat, which was rebuilt as Yeni-Balat ("New-Balat") some distance away on the modern highway, ending millennia of near-continuous occupation in the area of ancient Miletos.

Conclusions

Physical environments which present such a range of opportunities for settlement, such as that of Miletos, will produce dynamic cities which move to new positions to suit the changing needs of the community over time. Although it would be tempting to see the changes in focus which Miletos underwent as being a result of changing priorities of defence, communications (and trade) and water-supply, when one takes into consideration changing geographical factors it is clear that defence is the overriding influence on settlement location in all periods. At times when there is a sudden change in the city's focus, often as a response to new threats such as the Cimmerians or Goths, the change is not a simple response to imminent attack but a culmination of slower processes of change (e.g. changes in geography; piracy; population; or warfare), which have weakened the city's defensive position over time and which the new threat crystallises. There is more to the *polis* than its physical remains,⁷⁷ but a better understanding of those remains in a broad geographical and chronological perspective may help us to better understand the development of these complex communities.

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75 By 1073 AD Turks started to appear near Miletos and the Byzantine empire was in decline. In the fourteenth century AD Miletos (now known as Balat) was to find itself on a disputed border between the independent islamic Emirates of Aydın and Menteşe. With the Christian knights of St. John and the Genoese controlling most of the nearest Aegean islands, Miletos' role as a key point in east-west trade was affected.

76 Brückner (1995) 330.

77 Morgan (2000, forthcoming).

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SPARTA, LAKEDAIMON AND THE NATURE OF PERIOIKIC DEPENDENCY¹

by

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If there is some scholarly disagreement as to whether Archaic Sparta could be described as a city in the urban sense, there is at least a general consensus that it was, in both Spartan and non-Spartan eyes, a *polis*.² Yet, in spite of this, Victor Ehrenberg once argued that Sparta could not have been a *polis*, since the lack of coincidence between the name of the state (Lakedaimon) and its citizen body (Spartiatai) contravened the identity of state and society that defined, for him, the essence of the Greek *polis*.³ The paradox provides both a salutary reminder that many recent definitions of the Greek *polis* have all too often been predicated on assumptions derived from the modern historiographical tradition,⁴ as well as a vindication of the “pragmatic approach”, adopted by the Copenhagen Polis Centre, which seeks to analyse in de-

- 1 This article originated in a response to a paper by Graham Shipley entitled “‘The Other Lakedaimonians’: The Dependent Perioikic *Poleis* of Laconia and Messenia,” delivered at the Fourth Symposium of the Copenhagen Polis Centre in August 1996 (now published in *CPCActs* 4, 189–291). I thank Graham Shipley and Mogens Hansen for encouraging me to develop my thoughts in article form and for offering me invaluable advice.
- 2 E.g. C.G. Starr, *Individual and Community. The Rise of the Polis 800–500 BC* (Oxford 1986) 36: “in a famous statement Thucydides [1.10.2] observed that even in his own day the center of Sparta was no more than a cluster of four villages, though no one would deny that it was a polis”; A.M. Snodgrass, “Archaeology and the Study of the Greek City,” in J. Rich & A. Wallace-Hadrill (eds.), *City and Country in the Ancient World* (London 1991) 1–23, esp. 6: “That a ‘nucleus’ could continue to take the form of a cluster of separate villages, long after the transition to polis status, is proved...by Thucydides’ well-known reference to fifth-century Sparta”; C. Ampolo, “Il sistema della ‘polis’. Elementi costitutivi e origini della città greca,” in S. Settis (ed.), *I Greci. Storia Cultura Arte Società 2: Una Storia Greca 1: Formazione* (Torino 1996) 297–342, esp. 302: “La spiegazione sta nel fatto che nel caso di Sparta si trattava di villaggi che facevano parte integrante dello stato (cioè κώμαι subordinate all’ unica πόλις)”. M.H. Hansen, “Introduction: The *Polis* as a Citizen-State,” in *CPCActs* 1, 20 recognizes that the term Sparta can denote the political community but disputes the orthodoxy that the *polis* lacked an urban centre (“The *Polis* as an Urban Centre. The Literary and Epigraphical Evidence,” in *CPCActs* 4, 9–86, esp. 34–35).
- 3 V. Ehrenberg, *Der Staat der Griechen* (Zürich & Stuttgart 1965) 109. See also J. Andreev, “Sparta als Type einer Polis,” *Klio* 57 (1975) 73–82.
- 4 See, for example, E. Lévy, “La Cité grecque: invention moderne ou réalité antique,” *Cahiers du Centre Glotz* 1 (1990) 53–67; W. Gawantka, *Die sogenannte Polis : Entstehung, Geschichte und Kritik der modernen althistorischen Grundbegriffe der griechische Staat, die griechische Staatsidee, die Polis* (Stuttgart 1985); M.H. Hansen, “*Polis, Civitas, Stadtstaat and City-State*,” *CPCPapers* 1, 19–22.

tail the contexts in which the ancient Greeks used the word *polis*. The results generated by almost five years of area-specific research would seem to indicate that the ancient definition of the *polis* was not as inconsistent as formerly supposed,⁵ and this article will attempt to demonstrate that an application of some of the CPC's empirically-derived "principles" to the question of the relationship between Sparta, the perioikic *poleis* and Lakedaimonian *politeia* may offer surprising new insights.

It is commonplace to regard the population of ancient Lakonia as being divided into three distinct groups:⁶ the Spartiatai, who constituted the fully enfranchised warrior class; the *perioikoi*, who were personally free but whose own communities, though self-governing, were not wholly independent since they owed certain obligations (particularly in the military sphere) to the Spartiatai; and finally the helots – serfs enslaved on their own land and compelled to contribute a sizeable proportion of their agricultural output to their Spartan masters.⁷ It is, for example, precisely this tripartite division that is mentioned by Herodotos both in his description of the funerary rituals accorded to Spartan kings (6.58.2–3) and in his record of the forces which marched from Lakonia to fight at Plataia in 479 BC (9.10.1; 9.11.3). Again, it is these three groups which are enumerated by Xenophon in his account of the difficulties that beset the Spartans after their defeat at Leuktra in 371 BC: as many of the Spartiatai had been killed in the battle as had survived (αὐτῶν Σπαρτιατῶν οὐ μείζονων ἀπολωλῶτων ἐν τῇ ἐν Λεύκτροις μάχῃ ἢ λειπομένων), while many of the slaves (τῶν δούλων) and the perioikic cities (πολλῶν δὲ περιοικίδων πόλεων) were in revolt (*Ages*. 2.24).⁸

This tripartite division overlaps, however, with a second, bipartite division: together, the Spartiatai and *perioikoi* constituted the Lakedaimonioi.⁹ Thucydides, for

5 Pace P.J. Rhodes, "Epigraphical Evidence: Laws and Decrees," *CPCActs* 2, 91–112, esp. 91–92: "I suspect that we shall find that the Greeks themselves were not wholly consistent in their use of the word...that is, they were often not as tidy and systematic in their use of their language as a tidy and systematic scholar would wish, and the principle that any political entity which a Greek is known to have called a *polis* must have been a *polis* may not be a useful principle on which to base our research." See the objections of M.H. Hansen, "ΠΟΛΙΤΕΙΑΣ ΠΟΛΙΣ ΛΕΓΕΤΑΙ (Arist. *Pol.* 1276a23): The Copenhagen Inventory of *Poleis* and the *Lex Hafniensis de Civitate*," in *CPCActs* 3, 7–72, esp. 18–19 who cites this passage.

6 I am mainly concerned in this article with the perioikic communities of Lakonia rather than Messenia. It should be noted, however, that the term "Lakonia/Laconia" was coined by the Romans and that the ancient term "Lakedaimon" (when used in a territorial sense) and its cognate "Lakonike" could sometimes be applied to both Lakonia and Messenia. See P. Cartledge, *Sparta and Lakonia. A Regional History 1300–362 BC* (London 1979) 4–5.

7 See, for example R. Sealey, *A History of the Greek City-States 700–338 BC* (Berkeley-Los Angeles 1976) 67: "The basic structure of the state recognised people of three different status, namely, Spartiates, perioeci and helots"; P. Cartledge, *Agesilaos and the Crisis of Sparta* (Baltimore 1987) 15: "In tandem with the creation of the Helots, the Spartans had developed a *third force* within the population of Lakonia and Messenia. The Perioikoi..." (my emphasis); cf. *idem* (*supra* n. 6) 97.

8 Note that Thuc. 5.23.3 also uses the word δουλεία as a collective term for the helots.

9 V. Ehrenberg, "Der Damos im archaischen Sparta," in *idem*, *Polis und Imperium. Beiträge zur alten Geschichte* (Zürich & Stuttgart 1965) 202–220 (originally published in *Hermes* 68 [1933] 288–305), esp. 217; F. Hampl, "Die lakedämonischen Periöken," *Hermes* 72 (1937) 1–49, esp. 1, 7; G.L. Huxley, *Early Sparta* (London 1962) 25; Cartledge (*supra* n. 6) 16, 177; W.G. For-

example, says that the perioikic settlements of Thyrea and Anthene (both near the eastern coast of the Peloponnese at a distance of more than 50 km from Sparta) were inhabited by Lakedaïmonioi (5.41.2), while the Lakedaïmonioi commemorated on the Serpent Column at Delphi evidently included *perioikoi* alongside Spartiatai.¹⁰ Within the general category of the Lakedaïmonioi, we often find explicit oppositions drawn between its two constituent groups. Thus, the exiled Spartan king Demaratos tells king Xerxes of Persia (Hdt. 7.234.2): ὦ βασιλεῦ, πλῆθος μὲν πολλὸν πάντων τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων καὶ πόλεις πολλαί. τὸ δὲ θέλεις ἐκμαθεῖν, εἰδήσεις. ἔστι ἐν τῇ Λακεδαίμονι Σπάρτη πόλις ἀνδρῶν ὀκτακισχιλίων μάλιστα. καὶ οὗτοι πάντες εἰσὶ ὅμοιοι τοῖσι ἐνθάδε μαχεσαμένοισι· οἱ γὰρ μὲν ἄλλοι Λακεδαιμόνιοι τούτοις μὲν οὐκ ὅμοιοι, ἀγαθοὶ δέ (“The population of the Lakedaïmonians is great, O King, and they have many *poleis*. But you will know what it is you wish to learn. There is a *polis* in Lakedaïmon called Sparta which has more than 8,000 men. And these are all the equals to the men who have fought here; the other Lakedaïmonians are not the equals to these but they are good all the same”). Similarly, in describing Peloponnesian operations in the eastern Aegean in 411 BC, Thucydides (8.22.1) specifies that the infantry was led by the Spartiate Eualas (Εὐάλας Σπαρτιάτης) while the navy was commanded by Deiniadas the *perioikos* (Δεινιάδας περίοικος), and Xenophon (*Hell.* 6.21) recounts how, after his invasion of Arkadia in 370 BC, Agesilaos first dismissed the Spartiatai (τοὺς μὲν Σπαρτιάτας ἀπέλυσεν οἴκαδε) and then sent the *perioikoi* home to their own cities (τοὺς δὲ περίοικους ἀφῆκεν ἐπὶ τὰς ἑαυτῶν πόλεις). By contrast, the helots of Lakonia were never inclusively indicated by the term Lakedaïmonioi (although the helots of Messenia do seem to have referred to themselves by the ethnic Methanioi).¹¹ This bipartite division of Spartan society distinguishes, then, between Lakedaïmonioi (Spartiatai + *perioikoi*) on the one hand and helots on the other.¹²

In his response to Xerxes, Demaratos refers to the “many *poleis*” that the Lakedaïmonian *perioikoi* inhabited (see above),¹³ and an ancient tradition – preserved in Strabo but possibly traceable to Androtion – recounted that there had once

rest, *A History of Sparta* (London 1995 [3rd edn.]) 131; L. Thommen, *Lakedaimonion Politeia. Die Entstehung der spartanischen Verfassung* (*Historia Einzelschriften* 103; Stuttgart 1996) 15; Shipley (*supra* n. 1) 201.

10 Meiggs-Lewis, *GHI* 27; cf. Hdt. 9.81.

11 The ethnic is attested on two bronze spear-butts, probably to be dated to the 460s BC and dedicated by the Messenians as victory offerings at the sanctuaries of Zeus at Olympia and Apollo Korythos at Korone: W. Dittenberger and K. Purgold, *Olympia V. Die Inschriften von Olympia* (Berlin 1896) 247–48; L. H. Jeffery, *The Local Scripts of Archaic Greece: A Study of the Origin of the Greek Alphabet and Its Development from the Eighth to the Fifth Centuries BC* (Oxford 1990 [2nd edn.]) 206, no. 3. See R. A. Bauslaugh, “Messenian Dialect and Dedications of the ‘Methanioi’,” *Hesperia* 59 (1990) 661–68.

12 Shipley (*supra* n. 1) 203. It has been argued by Hampl ([*supra* n. 9] 24) that *perioikoi*, as much as Spartiatai, could control helots.

13 Thuc. 5.54.1 may be referring to perioikic cities when he states that not even αἱ πόλεις ἐξ ὧν ἐπέμψθησαν [“the *poleis* from which they had been sent”] knew the destination of Agis’ expedition in the summer of 419 BC, though *poleis* here is often taken to refer to Sparta’s allies within the Peloponnesian League: see Gomme’s comments in *HCT* 4 (1970) 73–74.

existed as many as 100 *poleis* in Lakedaïmon.¹⁴ Some of these *poleis* are known to us by name: Pherekydes (*FGrHist* 3) attributes the origins of the *poleis* of Oitylos (fr. 168) and Tainaron (fr. 39) to eponymous founders; Thucydides refers to the *poleis* of Kythera (4.54.1) and Kynourian Anthene (5.41.2); and Pseudo-Skylax enumerates among the *poleis* of Lakedaïmon Asine, Mothone, Achilleios Limen, Psamouthous Limen, Tainaros, Las, Gytheion, Boia, Side, Epidauros, Prasia and Methana (45–46). As befits a *periplous*, these are all coastal cities, but the account continues with the observation that Εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ ἄλλαι πολλαὶ πόλεις Λακεδαιμονίων. Ἐν μεσογείᾳ δ' ἐστὶ Σπάρτη καὶ ἄλλαι πολλαί (“there are many other *poleis* of the Lakedaïmonians and in the interior of the territory are situated Sparta and many others”).

Pseudo-Skylax's account of perioikic communities in Lakedaïmon would appear to be employing the term *polis* in the sense of what Shipley calls a “*polis-town*”,¹⁵ while Thucydides' reference to τὴν ἄνω πόλιν (“the upper city”) at Kythera suggests a similar usage. Indeed, for scholars such as Niese, Hampl or Gschnitzer, the literary attestations of the term *polis* to describe perioikic settlements should only be taken in the urbanistic sense of “*polis-town*” since there can be no question that these communities possessed the status of autonomous “*polis-states*”, given their presumed subjugation to Sparta.¹⁶ Nevertheless, this assumption must now be questioned in the light of three recent propositions made by Mogens Herman Hansen on the basis of research undertaken by the Copenhagen Polis Centre. Firstly, Hansen has convincingly demonstrated that the criterion of autonomy as the *sine qua non* of *polis* status is a myth of modern historiography: in antiquity, communities that were dependent upon a more powerful city or members of a hegemonic league could still be described as *poleis*.¹⁷ Secondly, the classification of perioikic *poleis* as urban rather than political centres would flagrantly contradict the empirically derived “principle” which Hansen terms the *Lex Hafniensis de Civitate* and which states that “in archaic and classical sources the term *polis* used in the sense of “town” to denote a named urban centre is not applied to any urban centre but only to a town which was also the political centre of a *polis*.”¹⁸ Thirdly, Hansen

14 For Bölte's attribution of the tradition to Androtion see Jacoby's commentary on Androtion (*FGrHist* 324) fr. 49. Strab. 8.4.11 says that in his own day there were thirty Lakedaïmonian πόλιναι in addition to Sparta. See Shipley (*supra* n. 1) 190–195 and 226–69, where something in the region of 95 presumed *poleis* in Lakonia and Messenia are listed.

15 Shipley (*supra* n. 1) 206. See, however, P. Flensted-Jensen & M.H. Hansen, “Pseudo-Skylax' Use of the Term *Polis*,” in *CPCPapers* 3, 137–67 who note that, with very few exceptions, Pseudo-Skylax “restrict[s] the term *polis* to urban centres which were also political centres of a *polis*” (p. 148).

16 B. Niese, “Neue Beiträge zur Geschichte und Landeskunde Lakedaïmons,” *Göttingische gelehrte Nachrichten* (1906) 101–42, esp. 103; Hampl (*supra* n. 9) 48; F. Gschnitzer, *Abhängige Orte im griechischen Altertum* (München 1958) 62–63. See generally Shipley (*supra* n. 1) 206–207.

17 M.H. Hansen, “The ‘Autonomous City-State.’ Ancient Fact or Modern Fiction?,” in *CPCPapers* 2, 21–43.

18 M.H. Hansen, “ΠΟΛΙΤΕΙΑΣ ΠΟΛΙΣ ΛΕΓΕΤΑΙ (Arist. *Pol.* 1276a23). The Copenhagen Inventory of *Poleis* and the *Lex Hafniensis de Civitate*,” in *CPCActs* 3, 7–72.

observes that in most documented cases the attestation of a “city-ethnic” (an adjective or substantive derived from a toponym designating an urban centre that is not in itself a civic subdivision) provides a good indication that the individual or individuals so named belonged to a *polis* in the political sense.¹⁹ That the ethnics attested for the perioikic communities of Kythera (Kytherioi), Oion (Oiatai), Aigys (Aigyeis), Epidauros Limera (Epidaurioi), Kyphanta (Kyphantaseis) and Pellana (Pellaneis)²⁰ are likely to be city-ethnics rather than ethnics based on civic subdivisions may be inferred from Xenophon’s frequent mention of Νέων ὁ Ἀσινᾶιος (Xen. *Anab.* 5.3.4; 6.4.11; 7.1.40; 7.2.1); since demotics and “sub-ethnics” are only very rarely employed outside the *polis* of which they are constituent parts, Xenophon’s designation of Neon as an Asinaian should indicate that Asinaios – and, by extension, Kytherioi, Oiatai, Aigyeis, etc. – are therefore city-ethnics. While it may be objected that the second and third propositions, taken singly, need not provide cast-iron proof for the political status of a *polis*,²¹ the cumulative effect of all three propositions should indicate strongly that perioikic communities were both “*polis*-towns” and “*polis*-states”, and it was in the latter capacity that their members were entitled to compete in the Olympic Games alongside the citizens of other Greek *poleis*.²²

Given that under some circumstances a Kytherios, an Aigyeus, a Kyphantaseus or a Pellaneus might also be described as a Lakedaïmonios, it might be supposed that the city-ethnic designates the citizenship of a particular *perioikos* while the term Lakedaïmonios should indicate a broader affiliation, perhaps based on regional criteria. At first sight, such a conclusion would appear to be confirmed by Demaratos’ pronouncement (see above) that ἔστι ἐν τῇ Λακεδαίμονι Σπάρτη πόλις (“in Lakedaïmon, there is a *polis* named Sparta”), which ought to mean that Lakedaïmon was the name of the region in which the city of Sparta was situated and, by extension, the χώρα or territory which Sparta controlled. That the term “Sparta” was employed to indicate both an urban centre (“*polis*-town”) and a political centre (“*polis*-state”) is certainly supported by further ancient testimony. Thucydides (4.3.2) tells us that Pylos is 400 stades from Sparta, by which he must mean the urban centre,²³ and the

19 M.H. Hansen, “Boiotian *Poleis* – a Test Case,” in *CPCActs* 2, 13–63; *idem*, “City-Ethnics as Evidence for *Polis* Identity,” in *CPCPapers* 3, 169–96. See also T.H. Nielsen, “Arkadia. City-Ethnics and Tribalism,” in *CPCActs* 3, 117–63.

20 Kytherioi: Thuc. 7.57.6. Oiatai: Xen. *Hell.* 6.5.26. Aigyeis: Theopomp. (*FGrHist* 115) fr. 361. Epidaurioi, Kyphantaseis and Pellaneis: *IG* XII.5 542. Ethnics are also attested for perioikic settlements in Messenia: Thuc. 1.101.2 (Thouriatai; Aithaies); Xen. *Hell.* 3.3.8 (Aulonitai).

21 See, for example, the reviews of *CPCActs* 3 and *CPCPapers* 3 by A. Chaniotis, *BMCR* 97.7.16 and H. van Wees, *G&R* 44 (1997) 230–31.

22 Paus. 3.22.5; *IG* V.1 1108. See Hampl (*supra* n. 9) 2–3; Ehrenberg (*supra* n. 9) 217.

23 Cartledge (*supra* n. 6) 240–241 points out that an error of calculation has been made here and that the true distance between Pylos and Sparta is about 600 stades. While this provides grist to the mill of those who have recognised Thucydides’ numerate vagueness (see, for example, S. Hornblower, “Introduction: Summary of the Papers; The Story of Greek Historiography; Intertextuality and the Greek Historians,” in *idem* (ed.), *Greek Historiography* [Oxford 1994] 1–72, esp. 26–27), the observation does not negate the assumption that Thucydides is here talking about an urban centre.

term “Sparta” regularly indicates the political centre where the ephors and kings exercised their rule.²⁴

Furthermore, the territorial usage of the term “Lakedaimon” can be demonstrated by Herodotos’ juxtaposition of Lakedaimon with Attike and Boiotia – both indisputably territories (9.6) – and by Xenophon’s description of Lakedaimon as the territory in which the perioikic settlement of Pharai was situated (*Hell.* 4.8.7; cf. Ps.-Skylax 46). Indeed, this notion can be traced back to the Homeric Catalogue of Ships (*Il.* 2.581–85) where the poet invokes Οἱ δ’ εἶχον κοίλην Λακεδαίμονα κητώεσσιν, Φᾶριν τε Σπάρτην τε πολυτρήρωνά τε Μέσσην, Βρυσηϊάς τ’ ἐνέμοντο καὶ Αὐγειαὶ ἐρατεινάς, οἳ τ’ ἄρ’ Ἀμύκλας εἶχον Ἑλος τ’, ἔφαλον πολίεθρον, οἳ τε Λάαν εἶχον ἥδ’ Οἰτύλον ἀμφεμένοντο (“those who hold hollow Lakedaimon with its ravines, and Pharai and Sparta and Messe abounding in doves; those who inhabit Bryseiai and lovely Augeiai; those who hold Amyklai and the coastal citadel of Helos; those who hold Las and dwell around Oitylos”). As in the descriptions of the contingents from Boiotia, Phokis, Lokris, Euboia, Arkadia, Elis, Aitolia, Krete and Rhodos, the poet names the region first, followed by the settlements located within that region.²⁵ On this evidence alone, one would be forced to conclude that the term Spartiatai (Σπαρτιῆτης/Σπαρτιάτης), which is already attested by the middle of the seventh century BC,²⁶ is a city-ethnic while the term Lakedaimonioi should represent what Hansen terms a “regional ethnic”.²⁷

Predictably perhaps, the matter is not so simple. According to Eustathius’ commentary on the *Iliad* (294.4), the fifth-century comic poet Kratinos had referred to χώρον Σπάρτην (“Spartan territory”). This could, of course, simply refer to the territory immediately surrounding the city of Sparta than to Lakonia generally, but more troubling evidence is presented by the fifth-century genealogist Pherekydes of Athens (*FGrHist* 3 fr. 168) who describes the perioikic *polis* of Oitylos – situated some 50 km to the south of Sparta – as lying ἐν Σπάρτῃ (“within Sparta”).²⁸ By contrast, Lakedaimon could be employed to denote the political centre of the Spartan state: on several occasions Lakedaimon is described as the place where embas-

24 E.g. Thuc. 2.2.1; Xen. *Hell.* 3.2.1 (ephors); Thuc. 1.128.7; Xen. *Hell.* 5.3.10 (kings).

25 See L. Pareti, *Storia di Sparta arcaica* Vol. 1 (Firenze 1917) 154.

26 *P.Oxy.* 3316 (attributed to the Spartan poet Tyrtaios).

27 Hansen (*supra* n. 19 [*CPCPapers* 3]). F. Gschnitzer, “Stammes- und Ortsgemeinden im alten Griechenland,” *WS* 68 (1955) 120–44 distinguishes between a Stammesgemeinde, where an *ethnos* or population group gives its name to the region it inhabits (e.g. Aitolians, Achaians, Boiotians, etc.), and an Ortsgemeinde, where a community assumes a collective name from its central place (e.g. Athenians, Megarians, Korinthians, etc.) – this second category is based on the “Ableitungen von Ortsnamen” formulated in W. Dittenberger, “Ethnika und Verwandtes II,” *Hermes* 41 (1906) 161–219. Hansen’s distinction is a little different: “city-ethnics” operate exclusively at the level of the *polis* and are always Ortsgemeinden; “regional ethnics” on the other hand operate at a level beyond the *polis* and may be either Stammesgemeinden derived from “primitive Volksnamen” (e.g. Arkadians, Epeirotes) or Ortsgemeinden based on broader geographical areas (e.g. Euboians, Sikeliotai).

28 For the location of ancient Oitylos, see W. Cavanagh, J. Crouwel, R.W.V. Catling & G. Shipley (eds.), *Continuity and Change in a Greek Rural Landscape: The Lakonia Survey II: Archaeological Data* (BSA Supp. Vol. 27; London 1996) 300–301.

sies are allowed to address the Spartans and where the ephors exercise their duties.²⁹ Furthermore, Lakedaïmon can also signify the urban centre that we more normally call Sparta. This is clear from Xenophon's description of the messenger who was sent εἰς τὴν Λακεδαίμονα ("to Lakedaïmon") to announce the news of the Leuktra defeat to those who had assembled in the city to celebrate the Gymnopaïdia (*Hell.* 6.4.16). It is also explicit in an inscription from Olympia, dated to 316 BC, which states that Lakedaïmon (i.e. the city) is 620 stades from Olympia (*Syll.*³ 1069). When we find Lakedaïmon explicitly juxtaposed with Athens,³⁰ or contrasted with other *poleis*,³¹ then we are forced to the conclusion that the term Lakedaïmon is used to denote a *polis* in its three essential aspects: i) as "*polis*-town" (i.e. the city of Sparta); ii) as "*polis*-country" (i.e. Lakonia and – for much of the Archaic and Classical periods – Messenia); and iii) as "*polis*-state" (the political community of Lakedaïmonioi).³² Consequently, the term Lakedaïmonioi should be viewed as a city-ethnic, and it is almost certainly in this sense that it is juxtaposed with other city-ethnics (Ἀθηναῖοι, Κορίνθιοι, Σικυόνιοι, Αἰγινᾶται) on the victory monuments that were dedicated at Delphi and Olympia – and, we assume, Isthmia – after the battle of Plataia.³³ Yet, as has already been observed, in these contexts Lakedaïmonioi included *perioikoi* alongside Spartiatai and it is inconceivable that the same term could simultaneously be read in two different ways – as a city-ethnic in the case of the Spartiatai but as a regional ethnic in the case of the *perioikoi*. The only conclusion that can be drawn is that *perioikoi*, as much as Spartiatai, possessed two city-ethnics.³⁴

At first sight this seems paradoxical. We are normally accustomed to think of those who bear a city-ethnic as *politai* of the *polis* from which they take their name, yet it is quite clear that the assembly of the Lakedaïmonioi (τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τῶν Λακεδαίμονιων [Thuc. 1.87.1]) did not include *perioikoi*. In fact, of course, not all *politai* need be fully enfranchised – indeed the isomorphism between citizens by birth and citizens with full political rights is only really true of democracies.³⁵ The

29 E.g. Thuc. 1.43.1 (embassies); 5.19.1; 5.25.1; 8.58.1 (ephors).

30 Hdt. 7.32: πλὴν οὐτε ἐς Ἀθήνας οὐτε ἐς Λακεδαίμονα ἀπέπεμπε ("but he sent neither to Athens nor to Lakedaïmon with respect to the request for earth").

31 Ps.-Xen. *Lak.Pol.* 9.4: ἐν μὲν γὰρ ταῖς ἄλλαις πόλεσιν ... ἐν δὲ τῇ Λακεδαίμονι .. ("for in other *poleis* ... but in Lakedaïmon ...").

32 This tripartite use of the toponym "Lakedaïmon" conforms to regular Greek practise: see Hansen (*supra* n. 5) 38 and compare the case of Elis, which may refer either to the town (Xen. *Hell.* 3.2.27; 7.4.14), the region (Thuc. 2.66.1) or the political community (Xen. *Hell.* 6.5.3; 7.4.15–16).

33 Hdt. 9.81 says that a gold tripod was dedicated at Delphi while bronze statues of Zeus and Poseidon were set up at Olympia and Isthmia respectively. For the inscription on the Delphic tripod: Meiggs-Lewis, *GHI* 27; for the inscription on the statue of Zeus at Olympia: Paus. 5.23.1–2.

34 *Contra* H. Michell, *Sparta* (Cambridge 1952) 68: "If, as there is good reason to suppose, the perioikic towns were also πόλεις in their own right, then a *perioecus* could not be a citizen of his own town and of the city of Sparta at the same time."

35 See especially M.H. Hansen, "*Polis, Politeuma and Politeia: a Note on Arist. Pol.* 1278b6–14," in *CPC Papers* 1, 91–98, esp. 92–93.

non-Spartiate Lakedaimonioi, then, were *politai* of the Lakedaimonian state insofar as they were the freeborn male children of Lakedaimonioi, even if they were not fully enfranchised.³⁶

It is this recognition of Lakedaimonian “citizenship” that helps us understand a little better Xenophon’s description of status groups in his discussion of the Kinadonian conspiracy of 397 BC (*Hell.* 3.3.5–6). In attempting to gauge the seriousness of the plot, the ephors are told that the conspirators included εἰλωσι καὶ νεοδαμώδεσι καὶ τοῖς ὑπομείοσι καὶ τοῖς περιόικοις· ὅπου γὰρ ἐν τούτοις τις λόγος γένοιτο περὶ Σπαρτιατῶν, οὐδένα δύνασθαι κρύπτειν τὸ μὴ οὐχ ἡδέως ἂν καὶ ὤμων ἐσθίειν αὐτῶν (“helots, *neodamodeis*, *hypomeiones* and *perioikoi* – all of whom, whenever there was any mention of the Spartiatas, could barely conceal the fact that they would gladly eat them raw”). Here, Xenophon presents us with a spectrum of status groups in ascending order, starting from the helots, who had no political rights whatsoever, and ending with the Spartiatas who held both Spartan and Lakedaimonian citizenship. The term “*neodamodeis*” signifies those (often of former helot status) who have been newly enrolled in the *damos* –³⁷ that is, within the Lakedaimonian (but not Spartan) *politeia*.³⁸ The term “*hypomeiones*” appears nowhere else in any extant account of Spartan society, but its comparative denotation (“inferiors”) requires a category against which it is defined – namely, the “*homoioi*”, or Spartiatas of equal status.³⁹ The *hypomeiones*, then, are those who have been demoted from full Spartiate citizen status but retain their identity as Lakedaimonian citizens. Reasons for demotion might typically include failure to pass through the Spartan education programme (*agoge*), failure to be elected to one of the Spartan common-messes (*phēditia*) and even failure to meet the stipulated contribution to the common-mess;⁴⁰ it is also possible that the *hypomeiones* embraced those who were excluded from full citizen rights due to either cowardice in battle (*tresantes*) or mixed parentage (*nothoi*, *mothakes*/*mothones*).⁴¹ Finally, the *perioikoi* rank above the *hypomeiones* in Xenophon’s list because although they share Lakedaimonian citizenship with them, they also possess citizenship in their own *poleis* – unlike the *hypomeiones* who have lost their full civic rights at Sparta.

36 Pareti (*supra* n. 25) 201; Hampl (*supra* n. 9) 7; Thommen (*supra* n. 9) 15; Shipley (*supra* n. 1) 207.

37 Hampl (*supra* n. 9) 26; Shipley (*supra* n. 1) 203.

38 Cartledge (*supra* n. 6) 251 suggests that the *neodamodeis* were first created after 424 BC when the helots who had accompanied Brasidas on his expedition to Thrace in 424 BC were granted their freedom and settled at Lepreon on the borders of Lakonia and Elis (Thuc. 5.34.1).

39 This much can be inferred from Xenophon’s account. When asked, after his arrest, his motivations in promoting the conspiracy Kinadon replied that he wished to be “lesser than nobody in Lakedaimon” (μηδενὸς ἥττων εἶναι ἐν Λακεδαίμονι [3.3.11]). In introducing Kinadon, Xenophon describes him as “not one of the *homoioi*” (οὐ μὲντοι τῶν ὁμοίων [3.3.5]). See further Cartledge (*supra* n. 6) 313–14.

40 Cartledge (*supra* n. 6) 314. Arist. *Pol.* 1271a26 describes how failure to meet mess contributions resulted in demotion from the citizen body.

41 For the *tresantes*: Hdt. 7.229–32; 9.71. *Nothoi*: Xen. *Hell.* 5.3.9. *Mothakes*: Phylarchos (*FGrHist* 81) fr. 43; Plut. *Cleom.* 8.1; Ael. *VH* 12.43. See generally Cartledge (*supra* n. 6) 314–15.

The category of Lakedaïmonian citizenship may also, however, explain the apparent anomaly whereby the perioikic cities of Lakedaïmon were immune from the terms of the King's Peace of 386 BC which guaranteed autonomy "to all *poleis* both large and small" (Xen. *Hell.* 5.1.31).⁴² The cynical response to this would be that since the Spartans were apparently the guardians (albeit self-appointed) of the peace, the interpretation of what might or might not constitute a breach of the treaty lay in their hands, though the attribution of such manipulative *Realpolitik* to the otherwise obsessively religious Spartans has worried at least one modern scholar.⁴³ Instead, the notion of a single Lakedaïmonian state provides a more convincing explanation. The crime of Thebes was to dominate what were technically peer polities within the overarching framework of the Boiotian League. Even if the situation in Lakedaïmon was in practical terms virtually identical to that in Boiotia, the Spartans could at least make the case that the perioikic *poleis* were not formerly-independent, subjugated peers but rather participants within the Lakedaïmonian *politeia*.⁴⁴

The picture which emerges is one of two quite different and superimposed systems which structure political, civic and territorial space in Lakedaïmon. The first, which operates in the horizontal plane, is essentially "polycentric". It is organised around a number of neighbouring *poleis* (Sparta, Boia, Tainaros, etc.), each of which has its own institutions, urban centre and almost certainly *chora*. The second, which operates in the vertical plane, is "monocentric" and focused on the *polis* of Lakedaïmon whose urban centre is Lakedaïmon-Sparta, whose territory comprises the whole of what is now termed Lakonia (and, through conquest, Messenia) and whose citizens are all the Lakedaïmonioi, whether enfranchised or not.⁴⁵ The point of contact between the two systems is represented by the physical conurbation of Sparta-Lakedaïmon.

In antiquity the conjunction between these two systems seems to have been envisaged as a type of synoecism. In setting out the early (pre)history of Lakonia, Pausanias (3.1.2) records that Lakedaïmon, son of Zeus and Taÿgete, formed a union

42 Cf. Hansen (*supra* n. 17) 28: "a rigorous implementation of the King's Peace would have resulted in the breaking-up of many more confederacies than the Boiotian and Chalkidian, and in the liberation of many more dependencies, including the perioikic communities in Lakonia and Messenia."

43 A.G. Keen, "Were the Boiotian *Poleis autonomoi*?", in *CPCPapers* 3, 113–25, esp. 115: "If it was generally acknowledged that they [perioikic communities] were non-*autonomoi poleis*, and therefore *ipso facto* in breach of the terms of the King's Peace, one must assume a very high level of cynical hypocrisy amongst the Spartans concerning the oaths of the Peace."

44 It is worth noting here that Ephoros (*FGrHist* 70) fr. 117 says the *perioikoi* "also shared in the *politeia*" (μετέχοντας καὶ πολιτείας). Only Isoc. *Panath.* 179 remarks on the charade whereby perioikic *poleis* nominally existed but in reality had less power than Attic demes (ὀνομάσι μὲν προσαγορευομένους ὡς πόλεις οἰκοῦντας, τὴν δὲ δύναμιν ἔχοντας ἐλάττω τῶν δήμων τῶν παρ' ἡμῖν).

45 Typically scholars have tended to emphasise only one of these two dimensions. For example, Hampl (*supra* n. 9) stresses the unity of the Lakedaïmonian state but downplays the civic status of the perioikic *poleis*, while Cartledge (*supra* n. 6] 178 and [*supra* n. 7] 16) identifies the relative autonomy of perioikic *poleis* but suggests that the term "Lakedaïmonioi" has military, rather than fully political, connotations.

with Sparte, daughter of Eurotas (συνώκει δὲ ὁ Λακεδαίμων Σπάρτη θυγατρὶ τοῦ Εὐρώτα). The use of eponymous figures to account for toponyms (Lakedaimon, Sparta) and the names of natural features (Mount Taygetos, the Eurotas river) is, of course, a typical aetiological strategy that is frequently employed by Pausanias in the early chapters of his books,⁴⁶ though the explicit use of the verb συνοικεῖν to describe the union – rather than the more prosaic terms λαβεῖν γυναῖκα or γαμεῖν (e.g. Paus. 4.1.1; 5.1.4, 6) – can hardly be accidental. There is, however, a major difference between the Lakedaimonian synoecism that Pausanias and his sources imagine and the more famous Attic model that was propagated by Thucydides (2.15.2). In the case of the latter, Theseus is said to have dissolved the *bouleuteria*, *prytaneia* and *archai* in the neighbouring cities of Attike – a centripetal process that demoted these communities to the status of demes and promoted Athens as the single political centre. In Lakedaimon, by contrast, the centralisation of the Lakedaimonian “state” coexisted with the polycentric model of quasi-autonomous neighbouring cities described above.

Merely to observe the simultaneous existence of the polycentric and monocentric models is one thing; to attempt to account for how, under what circumstances and when the two systems emerged is quite another. Here, as is so often the case in Spartan history, we are hindered by the fact that our earliest sources rarely predate the late-fifth or fourth centuries, are almost exclusively non-Spartan in derivation and are therefore already profoundly influenced by what has been termed “the Spartan mirage” – an idealistic view of the Spartan past which stressed the timelessness and stability of its social and political order and which served to provide a utopian blueprint of the ideal, timocratic society for those who were disenchanted with the perceived inequities of radical democracy (particularly at Athens).⁴⁷ The inevitable consequence of this is that research into the early history of Sparta must of necessity be tentative – even on occasion speculative – and inferred from less explicit categories of evidence. Nevertheless, from any historical point of view it is most unlikely that both the polycentric and the monocentric models emerged at the same time, so the question remains regarding the model to which we give chronological primacy – that is to say, did the perioikic communities emerge within the context of an existing Lakedaimonian consciousness or were they incorporated at a later date within the Lakedaimonian state?

Niese argued that the perioikic communities were colonial foundations established by the Dorians of Sparta soon after their arrival in the Peloponnese.⁴⁸ If true,

46 See C. Calame, “Spartan Genealogies: the Mythical Representation of a Spatial Organization,” in J. Bremmer (ed.), *Interpretations of Greek Mythology* (London 1987) 153–86; I. Malkin, *Myth and Territory in the Spartan Mediterranean* (Cambridge 1994) 19–22.

47 See F. Ollier, *Le Mirage spartiate. Étude sur l'idéalisation de Sparte dans l'antiquité grecque*, 2 vols. (Paris 1933 & 1943); C.G. Starr, “The Credibility of Early Spartan History,” *Historia* 14 (1965) 257–72; E.N. Tigerstedt, *The Legend of Sparta in Classical Antiquity*, 2 vols. (Stockholm 1965 & 1978); E. Rawson, *The Spartan Tradition in European Thought* (Oxford 1991 [2nd edn.]); A. Powell and S. Hodkinson (eds.), *The Shadow of Sparta* (London 1994); N.M. Kennell, *The Gymnasium of Virtue* (Chapel Hill 1995); Thommen (*supra* n. 9).

48 Niese (*supra* n. 16) 135. See also Hampl (*supra* n. 9) 7–16 who suggests that in time the status of the *perioikoi* declined due to their inability to maintain contributions to the *pheiditia*. This is

this might imply that the colonists carried out with them to their new communities an already-formed affiliation to a monocentric Lakedaïmonian state.⁴⁹ On the other hand, the tradition as reported by Pausanias (3.2.5–7) speaks of a series of early conquests of perioikic territory – Aigys during the joint reign of Charilaos and Archelaos, Pharis and Geronthrai during the reign of Archelaos' son Teleklos, and Helos under Teleklos' son Alkamenēs.⁵⁰ Furthermore, evidence from field survey suggests that in the postmycenaean period many perioikic sites were inhabited at least as early as Sparta.⁵¹ As a result, the weight of scholarly opinion has generally inclined to the view that formerly independent neighbouring settlements were brought into some sort of dependent relationship with Sparta, commencing in the eighth century, and that the extension of the term “Lakedaïmonioi” to denote the free inhabitants of these settlements was a later historical occurrence.⁵² Typical in this regard was Ehrenberg's hypothesis that the *perioikoi*, though occupying a position of dependence upon Sparta from an early date, were not officially incorporated within a Lakedaïmonian state until the sixth century.⁵³

There is certainly much to recommend Ehrenberg's proposition, beginning with the evidence of nomenclature. The ethnic Lakedaïmonios begins to receive epigraphic attestation in the sixth century: a marble seat, set up at Olympia and dated by Jeffery to 600–550 BC, carries an inscription commemorating its dedicator, “the Lakedaïmonian Gorgos, *proxenos* of the Eleans”,⁵⁴ while the ethnic also appears on a bronze strip, dedicated at Olympia in the period 550–525 BC.⁵⁵ By contrast, it is at present unattested in the extant fragments of the seventh-century poets Alkman and Tyrtaios, although the latter does employ the ethnic Spartiatai (*P.Oxy.* 3316).

not the place for a discussion of the historicity of the Dorian Invasion: for a recent (sceptical) synopsis with bibliography, see J.M. Hall, *Ethnic Identity in Greek Antiquity* (Cambridge 1997) 4–16, 56–65, 114–26.

49 Similar arguments have been made by those who suggest that the Attic synoecism was actually the consequence of Athenian (re)colonisation of Attika: see A.M. Snodgrass, “Central Greece and Thessaly,” *CAH* (2nd edn.) III.1 (1982) 657–95, esp. 668; W.G. Cavanagh, “Surveys, Cities and Synoecism,” in Rich & Hadriil (*supra* n. 2) 97–118, esp. 108. For a general discussion: R. Parker, *Athenian Religion: A History* (Oxford 1996) 10–17.

50 For the problems with the chronology of this account, see Cartledge (*supra* n. 6) 107.

51 Protogeometric material has been recorded at Parálio Ástros, Amyklai, Análpisis-Anthochóri, Stená-Mavrovouni and possibly Karaoúsi-Astéri, while submycenaean pottery is reported from Sídza-Leonídi: see Cavanagh *et al* (*supra* n. 28) 277, 282, 290, 293, 297–98.

52 There is no overall consensus regarding the mechanism of domination (military or pacific) nor the origins of the *perioikoi* themselves (Dorians, Achaeans or a mixture of the two). For a summary of the divergent views, see P. Oliva, *Sparta and Her Social Problems* (Prague 1971) 55–62; Cartledge (*supra* n. 6) 97–98. Cartledge (*ibid.* 98) is almost certainly right to suggest that not all *perioikoi* of the Classical period arrived at their status via the same route.

53 Ehrenberg (*supra* n. 9) 217. Ehrenberg further suggests that this extension of the Lakedaïmonian state may have prompted the Spartiatai to begin calling themselves “the equals” (ὅμοιοι). See also Thommen (*supra* n. 9) 50–51 and *passim*, who similarly believes that the ideology of the ὅμοιοι is due in part to the enrolment of *perioikoi* (as well as to the perception of social differences among Spartiatai) but dates the process to the 460s BC.

54 Jeffery (*supra* n. 11) 199, no. 15.

55 Jeffery (*supra* n. 11) 199, no. 19.

Secondly, it is a reasonable (though undemonstrable) assumption that the extension of the term *Lakedaimonioi* to include *perioikoi* was occasioned by their participation in military undertakings alongside the Spartiatai.⁵⁶ Nevertheless, despite suspicions that the success of Spartan expansion should have been due to perioikic support,⁵⁷ there is no unambiguous evidence for perioikic co-operation in military enterprises prior to the battle of Plataia in 479 BC (though Cartledge suggests that this *terminus ante quem* could be pushed back to the Spartan expedition to Samos in 525 BC since all the naval stations of Lakonia lay in perioikic territory).⁵⁸

Thirdly, there is the question of the nature of the perioikic relationship with Sparta. While Larsen believed that the *perioikoi* occupied a position somewhere between the helot population and the free allies of the Peloponnesian League, Oliva argued that their status should rather be envisaged as being situated between the Spartiatai and their Peloponnesian allies.⁵⁹ Building on this observation, Cartledge has suggested that the Spartiatai contracted a series of unilateral alliances with perioikic *poleis* which later served as a model for the system of treaties that maintained the Peloponnesian League.⁶⁰ The formula of the Peloponnesian League treaties is known to us from a fifth-century inscription which bounds the Erxadieis Aitoloi “to follow wheresoever the Lakedaimonians lead by land and sea and to have the same friends as they” ([ἐπομ]ένος ὁππυ κα Λα[κεδαιμόνιοι] ἡγίονται καὶ κα[τὰ γὰρ] κ[αὶ] κἀ(θ) θάλα[θ]θαν, τὸν αὐτὸν φίλον καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν ἐχθρὸν) ἔχοντες ὅν περ [καὶ Λακε]δαιμόνιοι).⁶¹ By the time of this inscription, the Lakedaimonians who are party to the treaty included the *perioikoi* (see above), but it is self-evident that had exactly the same formula been adopted earlier to bind the perioikic communities to Sparta then the term *Lakedaimonioi* can only have signified the Spartans; the other alternative is that the term *Lakedaimonioi* is a later *substitution* for Spartiatai.⁶² In either case, one might reasonably conclude that the polycentric model is historically anterior to the monocentric model, that the perioikic communities had originally been independent *poleis* which were gradually brought into relations of

56 M. Clauss, *Sparta. Eine Einführung in seine Geschichte und Zivilisation* (München 1983) 106–107.

57 E.g. J.B. Salmon, “Sparta, Argo e il Peloponneso,” in Settis (*supra* n. 2) 847–67, esp. 849.

58 Hdt. 3.54; Cartledge (*supra* n. 6) 143. Salmon (*supra* n. 55) 849 tentatively suggests a date prior to 550 BC on the assumption that perioikic incorporation predated the establishment of the Peloponnesian League.

59 J.A.O. Larsen, “Περιοίκοι,” *RE* XIX (1938) 818; Oliva (*supra* n. 52) 62.

60 Cartledge (*supra* n. 6) 178–79; *idem*, “The Peculiar Position of Sparta in the Development of the Greek City-State,” *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy* 80 (1980) 91–108, esp. 107–108; *idem* (*supra* n. 7) 16.

61 *SEG* 26 461. The treaty has been variously dated within the fifth century: for a summary see Shipley (*supra* n. 1) 275, n. 51. It is almost certain that the “Aitoloi” with whom the treaty was contracted refers to the Aitolian *ethnos* of west Greece rather than to the homonymous perioikic *polis*: see Shipley (*ibid.* 275, n. 53).

62 Paus. 3.11.1 says that the chief city of Lakonia had from its beginnings been called Sparta but had eventually assumed the name *Lakedaimon* (ἔστιν ἡ πόλις, Σπάρτη μὲν ὀνομασθεῖσα ἐξ ἀρχῆς, προσλαβοῦσα δὲ ἀνὰ χρόνον καὶ Λακεδαιμῶν ἢ αὐτὴ καλεῖσθαι) which would suggest the first of these two possibilities. However, at 3.1.2 he says that the *chora* and the population had been called *Lakedaimonian* prior to the foundation of Sparta.

dependency with Sparta through military, political or diplomatic mechanisms and that eventually – perhaps as late as the sixth century – this enlarged political collectivity came to be designated by an ethnic (“Lakedaïmonioi”) that was either (i) a completely new coinage or (ii) an extension of a pre-existing ethnic that had previously denoted only the Spartans. Unfortunately, the case is not quite so straightforward.

As far as the ethnic is concerned, its relatively late epigraphical attestation might suggest the first of these two alternatives – i.e. that it is a new coinage of the Late Archaic period. Yet this is, of course, an argument from silence which need not be highly significant: for example, the city of Chaironeia in Boiotia is first described as a *polis* by Hekataios (*FGrHist* 1 fr. 116) and then Thucydides (4.76.3; 4.89.2) but the ethnic “Chaironeis” is not attested prior to its appearance on fourth-century coins,⁶³ while as yet no ethnic is attested for the Arkadian city of Eutaia which is called a *polis* by Xenophon (*Hell.* 6.5.12).⁶⁴ In fact, although the usage of the ethnic Lakedaïmonios is uncommon in the early Archaic period, the same cannot be said for the employment of the toponym “Lakedaïmon”. It is certainly true that in early Greek poetry Sparta rather than Lakedaïmon tends to be the preferred form,⁶⁵ but Lakedaïmon is also attested,⁶⁶ and this duality of nomenclature is already found in Homer: in the *Odyssey*, the formula ἐς Σπάρτην τε καὶ ἐς Πύλον ἡμαθόεντα (“to Sparta and to sandy Pylos”) occurs a number of times,⁶⁷ but we also find the formula ἐς Πύλον ἡγαθέην ἢ δ’ ἐς Λακεδαίμονα διᾶν (“to divine Pylos and to noble Lakedaïmon”).⁶⁸ Bölte recognised that “Sparta” was the commoner poetic form but he believed that the term “Lakedaïmon” was actually older, and although there was at that time no explicit contemporary evidence to which he could appeal a startling recent discovery in Boiotian Thebes has corroborated his hypothesis.⁶⁹

On November 2 1993, a chance discovery of a Linear B tablet during road-works along Pelopidas Street in the Kadmeia district prompted a two-year rescue excavation which revealed a large archive of tablets dating to the second half of the thirteenth century BC.⁷⁰ The new tablets will undoubtedly contribute greatly to our understanding of not only Mycenaean political and religious administration but also the Mycenaean linguistic system itself. However, what is of concern here are the references on three tablets to a ra-ke-da-mo-ni-jo / ra-ke-da-mi-ni-jo (Λακεδαίμωνιος) and a ra-ke-da-mo-ni-jo-u-jo (Λακεδαίμωνιος υἱός).⁷¹ If, as the excavator claimed, Λακεδαίμωνιος is an ethnic, then we would have a surprisingly early attes-

63 M.H. Hansen, “An Inventory of Boiotian *Poleis* in the Archaic and Classical Periods,” *CPCActs* 3, 73–116, esp. 81.

64 Nielsen (*supra* n. 19) 145.

65 E.g. Tyr. fr. 4 Edmonds; Alc. *P.Oxy.* 3209; Simonid. frs. VII, LXV, LXXVI Campbell; Bacchyl. fr. 20 Campbell; Timotheos fr. 791 Campbell.

66 Ibyc. *P.Oxy.* 2735.30; Simon. frs. XXXIX, LXV Campbell; Bacchyl. fr. 20 Campbell.

67 Hom. *Od.* 1.93; 2.214; 2.359.

68 Hom. *Od.* 4.702; 5.20.

69 F. Bölte, “Sparta,” *RE* IIIA, 1274–75.

70 V. Aravantinos, L. Godart & A. Sacconi, “Sui nuovi testi del palazzo di Cadmo a Tebe”, *Rend.Acc.Naz.Linc.Mor.Ser.* 9, 6 (1995), 809–45.

71 TH 212, 217, 218: Aravantinos *et al.* (*supra* n. 70) 828, 844.

tation of the use of ethnics in the Greek world. Unfortunately, the juxtaposition of the adjective Λακεδαιμόνιος with the word υἱός ("son") makes it more likely that the former is a patronymic – meaning "son of Lakedaimon" – than an ethnic.⁷² That said, it is inherently unlikely that the Lakedaimon named in the texts gave his name to a town or region (a prerogative generally reserved for either mythical eponymous heroes or Hellenistic kings and generals), so the attestation of the name should indicate the prior existence of the toponym. Furthermore, the fact that both Lakedaimon and his son are included in lists of offerings and associated with divinities and religious officials should indicate their high status –⁷³ and, as a consequence, the comparative importance of the place from which the onomastic is derived. It would not, in fact, be stretching the imagination too far to imagine that the toponym Lakedaimon denoted the central place of Mycenaean Lakonia.

The early existence of the toponym "Lakedaimon" might then incline us to accept the second of the two alternatives outlined above – namely, that the ethnic Lakedaimonioi originally denoted the Spartiatiai and was later extended to include the *perioikoi* – but there is one grave obstacle: the historical settlement of Sparta preserved no physical continuity with the central place of Mycenaean Lakonia. Although some Late Helladic sherds have been found on the Spartan akropolis, they are very few and invariably date to the very final phases of LHIII,⁷⁴ after which a gap in occupation appears to intervene until the later phase of the Protogeometric period (ca. 950 BC).⁷⁵ There are a number of possible candidates for the centre of Mycenaean Lakedaimon, but the site which offers the best qualifications is undoubtedly the Mycenaean mansion on the eastern side of the Eurotas plain near Therapne.⁷⁶ It was here that the Lakedaimonians of the historical period chose to worship Menelaos and Helen; furthermore, this sanctuary lay in close proximity to that of Polydeukes, one of the Dioskouroi and the brother of Helen (Paus. 3.20.1), and both Pindar (*Isthm.* 1.10) and Pseudo-Hesiod (fr. 198 Merkelbach-West) associate the Dioskouroi with Lakedaimon in contexts where it would appear that Lakedaimon indicates a precise place rather than a general region.⁷⁷ While it is theoretically possible that Mycenaean Lakedaimon could also have been designated by the name Sparta, a plausible etymological interpretation of the toponym (σπάρτη from σπείρω, meaning "the city that is sown or generated")⁷⁸ would seem to indicate a relatively new settlement and therefore suggest that the name Sparta does not predate the foundation of the historical city on the western bank of Eurotas.

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72 John Chadwick (pers. comm.).

73 Aravantinos *et al.* (*supra* n. 70) 844.

74 H. Waterhouse & R. Hope Simpson, "Prehistoric Laconia: part I", *BSA* 55 (1960) 67–107, esp. 70; Cartledge (*supra* n. 6) 93; C. Stibbe, "Beobachtungen zur Topographie des antiken Sparta", *BA Besch* 64 (1989) 61–99, esp. 96–97; G. Shipley, "Archaeological sites in Laconia and the Thyreatis," in Cavanagh *et al.* (*supra* n. 28) 289.

75 Cartledge (*supra* n. 6) 92, though A.M. Snodgrass, *The Dark Age of Greece. An Archaeological Survey of the Eleventh to the Eighth Centuries BC* (Edinburgh 1971) 131 suggests that the date could be lowered to 900 BC.

76 Pareti (*supra* n. 25) 155; Cartledge (*supra* n. 6) 65, 93.

77 See Pareti (*supra* n. 25) 155.

78 Bölte (*supra* n. 69) 1272.

The evidence suggests, then, that the inhabitants of historical Sparta usurped a name (Lakedaïmon) that had originally designated a much older settlement located elsewhere and that this had already occurred by the time of the *Odyssey*. It is difficult to imagine that this claim was pursued simply out of an internal desire to root Spartan origins in Bronze Age Lakonia – not least because the extraneous origins of the “Dorian” conquerors of Lakonia never ceased to be exalted.⁷⁹ The action becomes easier to explain, however, if we hypothesise that the name Lakedaïmon still possessed a significance for neighbouring communities in Lakonia (or at least in the Eurotas basin). By promoting themselves as the new protectors of the old Lakedaïmonian heritage, the Spartans could portray themselves as the natural guardians of their fellow Lakedaïmonians. In other words, while the *fact* of perioikic incorporation argues strongly for the anteriority of the polycentric model, it was achieved at an ideological level by appealing to a largely imagined monocentric model based in part on the memory (however refracted) of Mycenaean Lakedaïmon.

This conclusion is inevitably conjectural, though it at least resolves two difficulties inherent in the *communis opinio*. In the first place, the traditional explanation asks us to believe that the perioikic settlements were subjugated – either peacefully or forcibly – to Sparta and then at a later date granted a Lakedaïmonian citizen-status that in real terms offered them no tangible benefits. On the hypothesis offered here, however, a prior subscription to a Lakedaïmonian identity on the part of the *perioikoi* may actually have facilitated the mechanisms by which they became bound to Sparta. In the second place, the fact that the *perioikoi* remained steadfastly loyal to Sparta until well into the fourth century⁸⁰ should indicate a relationship that was based on more than the mere artificiality of unilateral treaties – the Spartans did not, after all, always command the same degree of loyalty from their Peloponnesian allies. In this sense, the *perioikoi* were not so much hostages to Spartan terrorism as they were fellow-collaborators in their own dependency – or, rather, conscious conspirators in the Spartan promotion of a Lakedaïmonian identity whose authenticity was legitimated by reference to the Heroic Age.

This legitimation was achieved in part through the promotion of cults to pre-Dorian “Achaian” heroes such as Menelaos and Helen,⁸¹ Agamemnon and Kassandra,⁸² and Achilles,⁸³ as well as through the efforts the Spartans made to locate and

79 Hall (*supra* n. 48) 59.

80 Shipley (*supra* n. 1) 202.

81 For the excavations at the “Menelaion”, see: A.J.B. Wace, M.S. Thompson & J.P. Droop, “Excavations at Sparta 1909: the Menelaion,” *BSA* 15 (1909) 108–57; H.W. Catling, “Excavations at the Menelaion, Sparta, 1973–76,” *AR* (1976–1977) 24–42, esp. 35–42; H.W. Catling & H. Cavanagh, “Two Inscribed Bronzes from the Menelaion, Sparta,” *Kadmos* 15 (1976) 145–57; R. Catling, “Excavations at the Menelaion, 1985,” *Lakonikai Spoudai* 8 (1986) 205–216; R.A. Tomlinson, “The Menelaion and Spartan Architecture,” in J. Sanders (ed.), *ΦΙΛΟΛΑΚΩΝ. Lakonian Studies in Honour of Hector Catling* (London 1992) 247–55.

82 Paus. 3.19.6; Clem. Alex. *Protr.* 32; Schol. Lyc. Alex. 1123, 1369. See S. Wide, *Lakonische Kulte* (Leipzig 1893) 333; A.J. Podlecki, “Stesichoreia,” *Athenaeum* 49 (1971) 313–27; Malkin (*supra* n. 46) 31–32. For the excavations: C. Christou, “Ἀνασκαφὴ ἐν Ἀμυκλαῖς,” *Prakt* (1956) 211–12; *idem*, “Ἀνασκαφὴ Ἀμυκλῶν,” *Prakt* (1960) 228–31; *idem*, “Ἀνασκαφὴ Ἀμυκλῶν,” *Prakt* (1961) 177–78. Also: G. Löschcke, “Stele aus Amyklæ,” *AM* 3 (1878) 164–71; J.T. Hooker, *The Ancient Spartans* (London 1980) 66–62.

repatriate the remains of their former hero-kings – Orestes at Arkadian Tegea (Hdt. 1.67–68; Paus. 3.3.7) and Teisamenos at Achaian Helike (Paus. 7.1.8). It is also perhaps in this context that one should situate the so-called “hero reliefs” which, interestingly enough, are more commonly found in perioikic communities than in Sparta itself.⁸⁴ Here, however, a final observation presents itself. While archaeological evidence for cult at the Menelaion and Agamemnoneion sites dates to the late eighth century, there is no explicit epigraphic testimony that indicates that either Menelaos or Agamemnon were the recipients of honours prior to the sixth century, so the possibility cannot be ruled out that earlier cult was destined for different recipients. It is also in the sixth century that the Spartans attempted to repatriate the bones of Orestes and Teisamenos, that the poets Stesichoros and Simonides promoted the association of Agamemnon with Sparta,⁸⁵ and that the “hero relief” series begins. This “philo-Achaian” policy on Sparta’s part should certainly be connected with extra-political manoeuvres that attempted to establish Sparta’s primacy within the Peloponnese,⁸⁶ though it probably also served to consolidate the symbolic construction of a common Lakedaimonian past shared by *perioikoi* and Spartans alike. It may well be, then, that while initial rapports with perioikic communities were established within the ideological framework of a monocentric Lakedaimonian identity in the eighth century BC, that identity was further developed, extended and perhaps even “politicised” in the course of the sixth century.

I am not suggesting that we situate the origins of the *polis* in the Bronze Age:⁸⁷ the site of historical Sparta preserves no physical continuity with Mycenaean Lakedaimon (be that Therapne or elsewhere) and, although it is difficult to subscribe to the belief that post-Mycenaean Lakonia was entirely bereft of population,⁸⁸ the results of the Lakonia Survey have not dispelled the existing picture of unsettled conditions and relative underpopulation during the Early Iron Age.⁸⁹ It is, however,

83 Paus. 3.20.8; G. Dickens, “Laconia. Excavations at Sparta, 1907: 9. A Sanctuary on the Megalopolis Road,” *BSA* 13 (1906–7) 169–73; C. Stibbe, “The ‘Achilleion’ near Sparta: Some Unpublished Finds,” in R. Hägg (ed.), *Sanctuaries and Cults in the Peloponnese. Skrifter Utgivna av Svenska Institutet i Athen* 4*, 48 (Stockholm forthcoming).

84 For a general discussion: D. Hibler, “Three Reliefs from Sparta,” in Sanders (*supra* n. 81) 115–22.

85 Schol. Eur. *Orest.* 46; Pind. *Pyth.* 11.32; *Nem.* 11.34. See generally A.J. Podlecki (*supra* n. 82) 313–27.

86 Cartledge (*supra* n. 6) 139; J.M. Hall, “Beyond the polis? The Multilocality of Greek Hero Cults,” in R. Hägg (ed.), *Ancient Greek Hero Cult. Proceedings of the Fifth International Seminar on Ancient Greek Cults, Göteborg University, 21–23 April 1995. Skrifter Utgivna av Svenska Institutet i Athen* 8*, 16 (Stockholm forthcoming). M. Nafissi, *La nascita del Kosmos. Studi sulla storia e la società di Sparta* (Napoli 1991) 140–44 stresses the legitimacy that this “philo-Achaian” strategy granted the Spartan kings.

87 As does, for example, H. van Effenterre, *La Cité grecque: des origines à la défaite de Marathon* (Paris 1985).

88 Cartledge (*supra* n. 6) 92.

89 With the exception of a few seventh-century sherds, virtually no pottery was recovered that could be dated earlier than the second half of the sixth century: R.W.V. Catling, “The Archaic and Classical Pottery,” in Cavanagh *et al.* (*supra* n. 28) 89.

undeniable that in forging and developing a new state organisation the Greeks commodified elements of the Bronze Age past which served to provide legitimising charters rooted in the age of heroes – be it in the reoccupation of Bronze Age settlements and sanctuaries or the establishment of honours to mythical ancestors.⁹⁰ The Spartans' self-employment of the name Lakedaïmon – a name which we now know designated the Mycenaean state of Lakonia – was one of these legitimising strategies invoked to justify Spartan primacy within a common Lakedaïmonian identity that embraced all those neighbouring communities which were supposed to have formerly constituted the "Achaian" kingdom of Menelaos.

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90 Among a vast bibliography, see I. Morris, "Tomb Cult and the 'Greek Renaissance'. The Past in the Present in the 8th Century BC," *Ant* 62 (1988) 750–61; A.M. Snodgrass, "The Archaeology of the Hero," *AnnArchStorAnt* 10 (1988) 19–26; C.M. Antonaccio, "Placing the Past: The Bronze Age in the Cultic Topography of Early Greece," in S. Alcock & R. Osborne (eds.), *Placing the Gods. Sanctuaries and Sacred Space in Ancient Greece* (Oxford 1994) 79–104; A.J. Whitley, "Tomb Cult and Hero Cult: The Uses of the Past in Archaic Greece," in N. Spencer (ed.), *Time, Tradition and Society in Greek Archaeology. Bridging the 'Great Divide'* (London 1995) 43–63; J.M. Hall, "Heroes, Hera and Herakleidai in the Argive Plain," in Hägg (*supra* n. 83).

EPIKNEMIDIAN, HYPOKNEMIDIAN, AND OPOUNTIAN LOKRIANS.

REFLECTIONS ON THE POLITICAL ORGANISATION OF EAST LOKRIS IN THE CLASSICAL PERIOD¹

by

THOMAS HEINE NIELSEN

I. Introduction

East Lokris is a series of small coastal plains “trapped between mountains and sea”² south of Thermopylai on the Euboian Gulf with Boiotia to its south and southeast and Phokis on its southwest. From Phokis it is separated by the Knemis range, but the border with Boiotia is less clear. The political border probably ran north of Boiotian Hyettos and Kopai in the Classical period,³ but in the Hellenistic period large parts of southern East Lokris was incorporated into the Boiotian Confederacy.⁴

The East Lokrian plains are connected with each other and further unity is provided by the sea,⁵ several harbours being found along the East Lokrian coast: in the north there was, according to Demetrios of Kallatis,⁶ a harbour at Alponos⁷ (which was the first East Lokrian settlement south of Thermopylai), and Nikaia was mentioned in the treatise *Peri limenon* by the third-century writer Timosthenes;⁸ and according to Strabo there was a *limen* in the territory of Thronion;⁹ in 431 an Athe-

1 The present study is a spin-off resulting from my work on *An Inventory of Poleis in East Lokris in the Archaic and Classical Periods* due to appear in a future publication of the Copenhagen Polis Centre. I must thank Dr. M.H. Hansen for extremely helpful and encouraging criticism of several earlier drafts of this investigation; thanks are due to Dr. J. Roy, Dr. H. Beck, and Prof. J. Buckler as well. I am, of course, the one responsible for all the remaining errors.

2 Fossey (1990) 7.

3 So Hansen (1996a) 73.

4 Fossey (1990) 7.

5 Fossey (1990) 7.

6 Demetrios of Kallatis (*FGrHist* 85) fr. 6 (*apud* Strabo 1.3.20); the reference is probably to 426, cf. Fossey (1990) 183–184. On the site, see Pritchett (1982) 159–162 and Pritchett (1985) 186–187.

7 The name of this city is found in several variants: Ἀλπινοί, οἱ and Ἀλπινός are found in Herodotos (7.126.2, 5; 7.229 & 7.216 respectively); Ἀλπιωνός is found in Aeschin. *De falsa legatione* 132, 138 and was possibly used by Hellanikos (cf. *FGrHist* 4, fr. 12 = Steph. Byz. 78.15–6) and Demetrios of Kallatis (*FGrHist* 85) fr. 6 = Strabo 1.3.20. An ethnic derived from the latter toponym, Ἀλπιώνιος, is found in *CID* II 126.1 (third century) and *Syll.*³ 419 (first half of the third century). In the present text I use “Alponos” throughout to avoid confusion.

8 See Didymos *In Dem. comm.* (Pearson & Stephens) col. 11.33.

9 Strabo 9.4.4. On other harbour facilities, see Fossey (1990) 8, 21. Harbour facilities are also

nian navy made *apobaseis* near Thronion from where it went on and landed to fight a battle at Alope.¹⁰ Further south the city of Kynos (at modern Livanates) had a harbour¹¹ and is even described by some sources as the *epineion* of Opous;¹² and in the southernmost area of East Lokris, at the bay of Larmes, stood the city of Larymna with a good harbour.¹³ Communication by sea between the different areas of East Lokris cannot, then, have been a problem.¹⁴

There were several settlements in East Lokris: south of Thermopylai the first *polis* of the Lokrians was Alponos situated where the coastal plain is particularly narrow.¹⁵ After Alponos the plain widens and contains the cities of Nikaia and Skarpheia, and then, in the upper Boagrius valley Naryka, and in the lower valley Thronion with its port. The plain is, then, shared by four communities which were probably all *poleis*.¹⁶ After Thronion the plain narrows again and the first site on the coast is the fortress of Knemides,¹⁷ and then, in the coastal plain of Longos where the Dipotamos valley ends, Daphnous of unknown status (about which more is said below 107–108). This is the area which modern historians conventionally refer to as “Epiknemidian Lokris” as opposed to “Opountian Lokris”.¹⁸

“Opountian Lokris” is then the area from Alope to Larymna in the south. In this area were situated the communities of Alope, Kynos, Opous, Halai and Larymna, all of them probably *poleis*, in addition to other minor sites about which we know practically nothing.¹⁹ The most important part of “Opountian Lokris” is the plain of Atalanti. Kynos lay at modern Livanates at the northern end of the plain, while Halai at modern Theologos was practically outside the plain, as was Larymna. The inference is that Opous, at modern Atalanti, controlled the better part of the Atalanti plain – a *πεδῖον εὐδαίμων* according to Strabo 9.4.2 – and that this city was in possession of the largest territory among the cities of East Lokris.

There is, then, a certain unity to the area of East Lokris, but nevertheless our sources refer frequently to subdivisions within East Lokris, and it is these subdivisions which I propose to investigate in the following. Let me introduce the problem by citing some texts of the fifth century BC:

implied by the existence of a navy in East Lokris, for which see Hdt. 8.1.2 (seven *pentekonteroi* at Artemision).

10 Thuc. 2.26.2.

11 Fossey (1990) 82.

12 Strabo 9.4.2; Paus. 10.1.2. However, Kynos was probably more than simply the harbour of Opous, cf. Oldfather (1925) 32 and Hansen (1997) 23–24.

13 See Fossey (1990) 23. Katsonopoulou (1990) 10 counts Halai among the East Lokrian harbours; however, remains of a harbour are no longer visible (*ibidem* 30); the modern harbour of Theologos is “extremely safe” (*ibidem* 33).

14 By way of comparison, it could be noted that our sources mention only *two* harbours along the entire coastline of Elis; see Falkner (1996) 18.

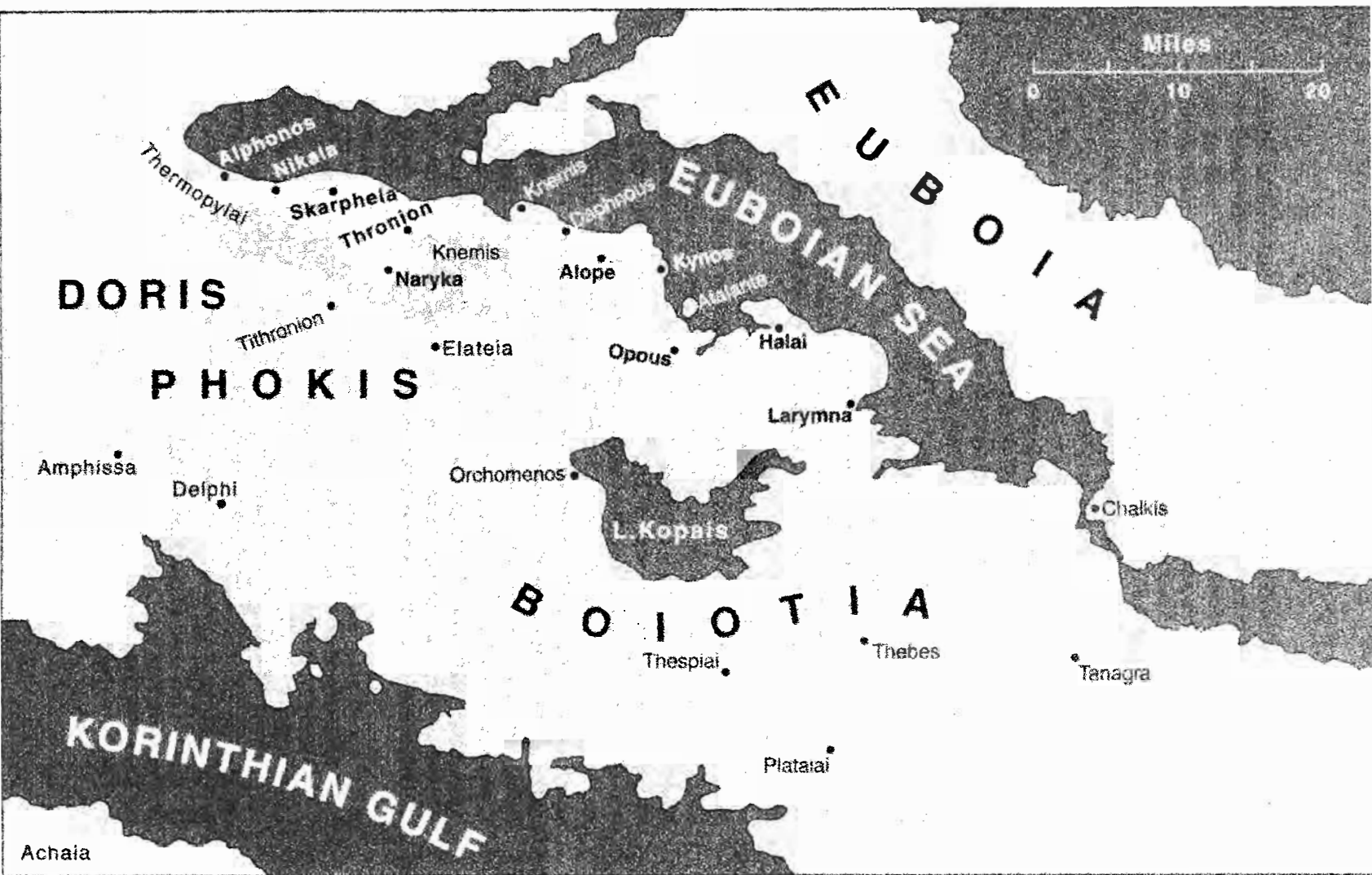
15 Hdt. 7.216.

16 The evidence pointing to the *polis* status of these communities will be set out in detail in my forthcoming *Inventory of Poleis in East Lokris in the Archaic and Classical Periods*; some of it is also cited below 000–000.

17 On which see Pritchett (1985) 187–189.

18 Fossey (1990) 7.

19 For these small sites, see Fossey (1990) and Dakoronia (1993).



Miles

0 10 20

DORIS

PHOKIS

EUBOIAN SEA

EUBOIA

BOIOTIA

KORINTHIAN GULF

Achaia

Alphonos
Nikala

Thermopylai

Skarphela

Thronion

Knemis

Naryka

Alope

Kynos

Alalats

Opous

Halai

Larymna

Orchomenos

L. Kopais

Delphi

Amphissa

Thespiai

Thebes

Tanagra

Plataiai

Chalkis

At 7.216 Herodotos mentions the East Lokrian city of Alponos and describes it as “the first Lokrian *polis* as one comes from the Malians”.²⁰ Alponos is here described simply as Lokrian without further specification. However, other sources specify “Lokrian” in various ways. First, Hellanikos may have been more specific than Herodotos in describing Alponos, since it is possible that he described the city as belonging not merely to the Lokrians but to the *Epiknemidian* Lokrians.²¹ Second, Thucydides, a contemporary of Hellanikos, at 2.32.1 mentions the Athenian installation in 431 BC of a *phrourion* on the island of Atalante, just off the East Lokrian coast: ἐτειχίσθη δὲ καὶ Ἀταλάντη ὑπὸ Ἀθηναίων φρούριον τοῦ θέρους τούτου τελευτῶντος, ἡ ἐπὶ Λοκροῖς τοῖς Ὀπουντίοις νῆσος ἐρήμη πρότερον οὔσα, τοῦ μὴ ληστὰς ἐκπλέοντας ἐξ Ὀποῦντος καὶ τῆς ἄλλης Λοκρίδος κακουργεῖν τὴν Εὐβοίαν; here we meet another term used to describe the East Lokrians: *Opountian*. Finally, an inscription of ca. 500–450 (= Meiggs-Lewis, *GHI* 20) records a resolution passed by a political organisation based on Opous in East Lokris; the inscription lays down regulations for the sending of an *epoikia* to Naupaktos in West Lokris; the West Lokrians are referred to as Λοφροὶ οἱ Φεσπάριοι, whereas the East Lokrians are several times referred to as Λοφροὶ οἱ ὑποκναμίδιοι. So, here we have a third term, *Hypoknemidian*, used to describe the East Lokrians. In conclusion, three different terms seem to have been used to further describe the East Lokrians in the fifth century.

In this study I shall explore whether the various descriptions of the East Lokrians found in our sources, i.e. as either *Epiknemidian*, *Hypoknemidian*, or *Opountian* Lokrians, corresponded to *political* divisions within the region. Though it has not been discussed recently, this is a question of long standing. In a paper published as long ago as 1871 but still worth reading,²² Vischer argued that all three specifications (*Epiknemidian*, *Hypoknemidian*, and *Opountian*) referred to the same people, i.e. the East Lokrians opposite Euboea;²³ the East Lokrians were, Vischer maintained, united throughout most of antiquity in a state whose capital (“Hauptstadt”) was Opous,²⁴ and *Opountian* was the name of the *state*, whereas *Hypoknemidian* (or *Epiknemidian*) was the name of the *people* as contrasted with the West Lokrians.²⁵ However, when the Phokians – probably during the Third Sacred War²⁶ – seized the East Lokrian coastal site of Daphnous, East Lokris was split into two parts of which the southern part with Opous came to be called *Opountian* whereas *Epiknemidian* (and *Hypoknemidian*) developed a more narrow meaning in which it was applied to

20 ... Ἀλπινὸν πόλιν, πρώτην εὐδοσαν τῶν Λοκρίδων πρὸς Μαλιέων.

21 Hellanikos (*FGH Hist* 4) fr. 12 = Steph. Byz. 78.14–7 runs as follows: “Ἀλπωνος, πόλις καὶ ὄρος ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ, ὡς Εὐφορίων ... τινὲς δὲ θετταλίας αὐτὴν φασιν. ἔστι καὶ ἄλλη Λοκρῶν τῶν Ἐπικνημιδίων, ὡς Ἑλλάνικος ἐν πρώτῃ Δευκαλιωνείας. The most natural interpretation of this passage is that Hellanikos is being cited for the identity of the second Alponos and thus is the source of Λοκρῶν τῶν Ἐπικνημιδίων; but certainty on this point is impossible. See further below 106.

22 Vischer (1871) 74–89.

23 Vischer (1871) 74–80. So also Oldfather (1926) 1161.

24 Vischer (1871) 81–6.

25 Vischer (1871) 80.

26 Vischer (1871) 85–6.

the East Lokrians north of Daphnous to contrast these with the Opountians.²⁷ Though he did not believe in it Vischer did not entirely reject the possibility that East Lokris was in later times (*i.e.* in the Hellenistic period) occasionally split up into two states, an Epiknemidian state and an Opountian state both of which may have struck coins.²⁸

Vischer's view has won a good number of adherents,²⁹ but is not undisputed. Thus, in 1926 Klaffenbach published a study arguing that East Lokris was from an early period subdivided into two parts, Epiknemidian Lokris comprising such communities as Skarpheia and Thronion, and Hypoknemidian = Opountian Lokris.³⁰ Klaffenbach believed that the correct name of the East Lokrian state throughout antiquity was τὸ κοινὸν τῶν Λοκρῶν τῶν ἡοίων,³¹ although this name is attested only in 165 BC (*Syll.*³ 653) due to "Zufälligkeit". Klaffenbach is inclined to date the seizure of Daphnous by the Phokians quite early,³² but dates the political division of East Lokris into an Epiknemidian and a Hypoknemidian state to the third century only.³³

I do not intend to discuss the political organisation of East Lokris in the Hellenistic period here and so the present discussion is restricted to the Classical period and focuses on the question of whether East Lokris *was* subdivided into several regions or sub-regions in this period, and if so, whether these regions or sub-regions corresponded to political divisions or not.

II. East Lokris and its Subdivisions

The Lokrians of central Greece, though split into a western and an eastern group, were conceived of as a single *ethnos*,³⁴ and as such they were a member of the Delphic Amphiktion.³⁵ Accordingly, the same toponym, Λοκρίς, was used to designate both the area inhabited by the West Lokrians³⁶ and that inhabited by the East Lokrians,³⁷ and it is sometimes used in such a way that it is not immediately obvious whether East or West Lokris is meant;³⁸ and even though there are comparatively

27 Vischer (1871) 84.

28 Vischer (1871) 87–8.

29 See, *e.g.*, Tod, *GHI* 24; Meiggs-Lewis, *GHI* 20; Buck, *GD* 57: "The East Lokrians are referred to ethnically as Hypoknemidians (of which Epiknemidians is an equivalent) politically as Opountians, since Opus was the seat of government, the two terms standing in the same relation as Boeotian and Theban."

30 Klaffenbach (1926).

31 Klaffenbach (1926) 74–5.

32 Klaffenbach (1926) 74–5.

33 Klaffenbach (1926) 73.

34 See Aeschin. 2.116 (... ἔθνη δώδεκα ... Λοκρούς). This unity of the *ethnos* persisted into the Hellenistic period, cf. the discussion of the Lokrian Maiden Tribute by Lerat (1952) II.82. True, Polyb. 12.10.3 counts *two* Lokrian *ethne* in central Greece, but the context is polemical and the author is criticising Timaios who in a passage had not specified whether he referred to the West or to the East Lokrians. See Walbank, *HCP* II 345–346.

35 See, *e.g.*, Aeschin. 2.116, and *CID* II 36.I.30–1 (Λοκρῶν).

36 See, *e.g.*, Thuc. 3.95.3, 96.2, 98.3.

37 See, *e.g.*, Thuc. 2.26.1, 32.1.

38 See Diod. 15.57.2, 16.25.3, 16.30.4.

few such cases this is simply due to the fact that contextual details often clarify that the reference is to, *e.g.*, East Lokris and not West Lokris.³⁹ Similarly, though the simple ethnic Λοκρός is often used in such a way that it is clear that it refers to *e.g.* East Lokrians and not West Lokrians,⁴⁰ several examples may be cited in which a distinction between East and West Lokrians is not attempted and probably not intended. This is particularly so when Λοκρός alone is used as part of a personal name,⁴¹ or when Λοκροί is used as a heading in lists of various kinds;⁴² in such cases Λοκρός functions simply as an ethnic label by which individuals are assigned to the Lokrian *ethnos*. But the plural of the ethnic may be used in this way too, *i.e.* to refer to the Lokrian *ethnos* without discriminating between its constituent parts.⁴³ These simple observations may serve to confirm that the Lokrians as such constituted an *ethnos*.

However, the severance of the two parts of the *ethnos* was a fact and was recognised by *e.g.* the Delphic Amphiktion, since of the two Lokrian *hieromnamones* one was assigned to the West Lokrians and one to the East Lokrians.⁴⁴ Accordingly, our sources often distinguish between the West Lokrians and the East Lokrians. Thus, when a reference specifically to the West Lokrians is intended the expressions

- 39 Ar. Av. 152 (mentions *Opountioi*); Thuc. 2.26.1 (mentions *Thronion*), 2.32 (mentions Opous), 3.91.6 (a description of operations against Boiotia precedes); Xen. *Hell.* 3.5.3 (mentions the *Lokroi hoi Opountioi*; Diod. 12.44.1 (mentions *Thronion* and the island of *Atalante*), 12.59.2 (mentions the island of *Atalante*), 14.82.8 (mentions *Naryka*), 19.78.7 (mentions the *Opountioi*) – in brackets the contextual details which make clear that the reference is to East Lokris. On the other hand, at Thuc. 3.95.3, 96.2, 98.3, 101.2 *Lokris* obviously refers to West Lokris.
- 40 Hom. *Il.* 2.527, 535; Hdt. 7.132.1 (on which see Lerat [1952] II.28), 7.207, 8.66.2, 9.31.5; Thuc. 1.113.2, 2.9.2 (on which see *HCT* and Lerat [1952] II.37), 2.9.3, 2.26.2, 4.96.8, 5.32.2, 5.64.2, 8.3.2, 8.43.3; Xen. *Hell.* 3.5.4, 3.5.5; *F.Delphes* III.4 463 (313 BC); Philochoros (*FGrHist* 328) fr. 56b. In Hekataios (*FGrHist* 1) fr. 113a, on the other hand, it is clear that Λοκροί refers to the West Lokrians, since Chalaion and Oianthe are mentioned as *poleis* of these Lokrians. Gomme, *HCT* II.11 *ad* Thuc. 2.9.2 observes that when Thucydides uses Λοκροί without qualification the reference is generally to the East Lokrians, a fact which points to the importance of the East Lokrians as opposed to the West Lokrians.
- 41 *E.g.* SEG 39 370, dating to the time of the Peloponnesian War, where at B.9 Mo[...] Λοκρός is listed as having contributed to the Lakedaimonians' war-fund (cf. Matthaiou & Pikoulas [1989] 109–110); SEG 44 414.18, 21, 33 of ca. 350 which mentions Εὐανθίδας Μικρίωνος Λοκρός; IG II² 9216, a fourth-century epitaph commemorating Ἰππίας [Τιμ]οθέου [Λο]κρός (cf. SEG 18 118 commemorating the same man or a homonym); IG II² 3052, a choregic dedication of 328/7 giving Χαρίλαος Λοκρός as *didaskalos*; *ČID* II 31.34, a late fourth-century list of *naupoi* listing two men simply designated by Λοκρός; IG II² 1957, an Athenian catalogue of mercenaries dating to the early third century, which lists five people described simply by Λοκρός. See also Xen. *An.* 7.4.18.
- 42 *E.g.* *CID* II 36.15 where after the heading Λοκρῶν two *hieromnamones* are listed simply by personal names; IG II² 1959, an Athenian catalogue of mercenaries of ca. 300 where at III.169 the heading Λοκροί is followed by four personal names without any further specification (see also *ibidem* III.197).
- 43 *E.g.* Hdt. 7.132.2; Aeschin. 2.116 (... ἔθνη δώδεκα ... Λοκρούς); Dem. 59.101; Diod. 15.31.2 (for which see Lerat [1952] II.45), 15.57.1 (for which see Lerat [1952] II.46). Unqualified Λοκροί, of course, may also refer to Lokroi Epizephyrioi in Italy, see *e.g.* *IvO* 144, SEG 24 304–305, 311–312; cf. also Polyb. 12.10.1–2.
- 44 Cf. *CID* II 43.22–3, 74.I.37–8. See Roux (1979) 3.

Λοκροὶ οἱ Ὀζόλαι⁴⁵ and Λοκροὶ οἱ Ἑσπέριοι⁴⁶ are used. The former is found exclusively in literary sources and is absent from local sources and seems not to have been used by the West Lokrians themselves.⁴⁷ The latter, however, *is* found in local sources and is also used individually, either in addition to Λοκρός⁴⁸ or added to the personal name in lists where Λοκροὶ functions as a heading.⁴⁹

When a reference specifically to the East Lokrians is intended, the ethnic Λοκρός is again qualified in different ways:⁵⁰

(a) Λοκροὶ οἱ Ἐπικνημίδιοι: Hellanikos (*FGrHist* 4) fr. 12 (= Steph. Byz. 78.16–7); Diod. 16.38.3 (referring to 352 BC); coins inscribed ΛΟΚΡ ΕΠΙΚΝΑ and post-dating the battle of Chaironeia.⁵¹

(b) Λοκροὶ οἱ ὑποκναμίδιοι: Meiggs-Lewis, *GHI* 20 (500–450); coins inscribed ΛΟΚΡΩΝ ΥΠΙΟΚ and post-dating the battle of Chaironeia.⁵²

(c) Λοκροὶ οἱ Ὀπούντιοι: Hdt. 7.203.1, 8.1.2; Thuc. 1.108.3, 2.32.1, 3.89.3; Xen. *Hell.* 3.5.3, 4.2.17; Ephoros (*FGrHist* 70) fr. 138a (*apud* Strabo 6.1.7), fr. 138b (= Ps.-Skymnos 316); Diod. 11.83.2 (referring to 456 BC); Paus. 1.23.4 (referring to 480 BC).

If we assume that these qualifications are meant to refer to subdivisions of East Lokris, our first step must be to investigate whether these subdivisions were purely geographical and mutually exclusive, and, if so, which areas within East Lokris each subdivision embraced. We do not find expressions such as *Λοκρὶς Ὀπουντία or *Λοκρὶς Ὑποκνημίς,⁵³ though we do meet phrases like Λοκροὶ οἱ Ὀπούντιοι (Hdt. 7.203.1) and Λοκροὶ οἱ ὑποκναμίδιοι (Meiggs-Lewis, *GHI* 20.1). This might perhaps in a very general way be taken as an indication that the subdivisions were not territorial, but personal. However, not only are the qualifications in themselves capable of topographical interpretation (*Epiknemidian* = “at Mt. Knemis”, *Hypoknemidian* = “under Mt. Knemis”, *Opountian* = “of Opous”), but considering how sparse the source material is I prefer to avoid any conclusion *e silentio*.

45 Hdt. 8.32.7; Thuc. 1.5.3, 103.3; 3.95.1, 95.2, 101.1; Xen. *Hell.* 4.2.17; Dem. *De cor.* 157; Arist. fr. 561.13, 20 (Rose).

46 Meiggs-Lewis, *GHI* 20.10; *IG* IX.1² 3.665.1 ([ἔ]δοξε τῷ κοινῷ τῶν Λοκρῶν τῶν Ἑσπερίων); *CID* II 5.11.46; *Hell. Oxy.* 21.2; Arist. fr. 561.20 (Rose); Theopompus (*FGrHist* 115) fr. 80.7 (= Ael. *VH* 3.1).

47 See Oldfather (1926) 1162–1164, Lerat (1952) II.7; Lerat points out that *Ozolai* may have been in internal use prior to *Hesperioi*.

48 E.g. *CID* II 74.1.71, 76.11.30 (Διοκλεῖ Ἀψόφου Λοκρῶν Ἑσπερίῳ); *CID* II 121.III/IV 18.

49 E.g. *CID* II 32.47 (Λοκρῶν ... Τιμοκράτης Ἑσπερίος); *CID* II 76.1.22, 79A.11.13 ([Λ]ο[κρ]ῶν [Ἑ]λέλα [Ἑσπ]ερίο[υ]); *CID* II 82.25, 84.A.2 (Λοκρῶν ... [Ἀ]ριστέα Ἑσπερί[ου]); see also *CID* II 86.15, 94.6, 99.B.19, 102.II.A.31.

50 There is only one late passage which qualifies the toponym *Lokris* with an adjective derived from one of the designations under scrutiny here, viz. Schol. in Dionysium Periegetem, *Vita* verse 366: ... εἰς Ἰταλίαν ἀπὸ Λοκρίδος τῆς Ἐπικνημίδος.

51 For these coins, see *Archäologische Zeitung* no. 9 September 1849, 92 no. 20; *Archäologische Zeitung* no. 10 Oktober 1847, 148 no. 16; *BMC Locris* nos. 71–6; Babelon (1914) no. 456; *SNG Cop.* III [Aetolia-Euboea] nos. 74–6; date: 338–300.

52 For these coins, see *BMC Locris* nos. 38–40; Babelon [1914] no. 438–441, date: ca. 338–300 (*BMC*), “après 338” (Babelon); MacDonald [1901] *Locris* no. 12, date: ca. 338–300.

53 See note 50.

Another approach is to investigate whether the individual communities ascribed to the different subdivisions fall into clearly defined geographical groups. If we restrict ourselves to sources concerning the Classical period, the following picture emerges:

(a) communities ascribed to Λοκροὶ οἱ Ἐπικνημίδιοι by “Classical” sources:

Alponos (Hellanikos [*FGrHist* 4] fr. 12 = Steph. Byz. 78.14–7: text cited in note 21 above);

Naryka (Diod. 16.38.3: Φάυλλος δὲ στρατεύσας εἰς Λοκροὺς τοὺς ὀνομαζομένους Ἐπικνημιδίους τὰς μὲν ἄλλας πόλεις ἐχειρώσατο πάσας, μίαν δὲ τὴν ὀνομαζομένην Ναρύκα διὰ προδοσίας κτλ. [referring to 352 BC]).

(b) communities ascribed to Λοκροὶ οἱ ὑποκνημίδιοι by Classical sources:

Opous (Meiggs-Lewis, *GHI* 20, a resolution of 500–450, passed by a political federation based on East Lokris, laying down regulations for the sending of an *epoikia* to Naupaktos in West Lokris; the West Lokrians are referred to as Λοκροὶ οἱ Ἰεσπάρτιοι, whereas the East Lokrians are several times referred to as Λοκροὶ οἱ ὑποκνημίδιοι; the only East Lokrian community referred to by name in the inscription is Opous [l. 33] which is, then, probably considered a Hypoknemidian community). See also the discussion of coins inscribed ΛΟΚΡΩΝ ΥΠΙΟ below 101 (where it is argued that these coins attest to Opous as a Hypoknemidian community).

(c) communities ascribed to Λοκροὶ οἱ Ὀπούντιοι by Classical sources:

Opous (Thuc. 2.32.1: text cited above 94).

The most striking conclusion to emerge from this material is that the Hypoknemidian Lokrians of Meiggs-Lewis, *GHI* 20 and the Opountian Lokrians of Thuc. 2.31.1 were apparently one and the same group, since Opous is both a Hypoknemidian and an Opountian community.⁵⁴ It is, furthermore, worth noting that the expression *Opountian Lokrians* is found in a non-Lokrian and literary source whereas *Hypoknemidian* derives from the East Lokrian themselves. The designation *Opountian Lokrians* seems, in fact, to be used only in literary sources to refer to the East Lokrians.⁵⁵ True, there are both numismatic and epigraphical sources which use Ὀπούντιος alongside Λοκρός, but in these cases Ὀπούντιος is better explained as the city-ethnic of Opous coupled with the regional ethnic to produce a “double ethnic”:

54 Realised by Vischer (1871) 80 and Klaffenbach (1926) 72 and Larsen (1968) 50. Later sources explicitly treat Opous as Hypoknemidian: *I. Delphes* III.3 146.3 (ca. 154 BC) See also the coins discussed below (3b). See also Paus. 10.2.1 with Katsonopoulou (1990) 9 n. 12.

55 See, e.g., Hdt. 7.203.1, 8.1.2; Thuc. 1.108.3, 2.32.1, 3.89.3; Xen. *Hell.* 3.5.3, 4.2.17.

(1) In *CID* II 95.14 and 97.25, lists of Delphic *naopoioi* of 328/7, we find *Agasilas Ainesia Lokros Opountios*, and [---]ου Λοκρὸς Ὀπόντιος is preserved in *CID* II 121.II.13. In both the two former cases the “Opountian Lokrian” is immediately followed by *Agias Aristarchou Lokros Thronieus*. This suggests that *Opountios* parallels *Thronieus* and, accordingly, should be interpreted as a city-ethnic referring to Opous just like *Thronieus* is a city-ethnic referring to Thronion. In that case, *Lokros Opountios* cannot be a label by which Agasilas is assigned to the Opountian Lokrians of the literary sources, but must be a “double ethnic”.⁵⁶

(2a) In the naopic accounts from Delphi, the Lokrian *hieromnamones* are often listed in a way which suggests that the term *Opountios* is intended to distinguish the East Lokrians from the West Lokrians; e.g., *CID* II 32.41–46: παρὴν ἱερομνάμονες τοῖδε ... Λοκρῶν· Πολυ[κλ]ῆς Ὀπού[ν]τιος, Τιμοκράτης Ἑσπέριος. We find eight instances of this use,⁵⁷ and since *Opountios* here obviously parallels *Hesperios* these cases may be interpreted to indicate that *Opountios* was used to differentiate the East Lokrians from the West Lokrians. It is, however, also possible that *Opountios* was used in these cases simply because the *hieromnamones* were from Opous,⁵⁸ or because the city-ethnic of Opous was in practice a way of distinguishing the East Lokrians from the West Lokrians because there was no great difference between the entities of Opous and East Lokris (as argued below in the discussion on coins).

(2b) Furthermore, in other lists of Amphiktyonic officials Ὀπούντιος clearly parallels West Lokrian city-ethnics,⁵⁹ e.g.: [ἱ]ερομναμονεόντων τῶνδε ... Λοκρῶν Σμήν[ου] Ὀπουντίου, Καλλικῶνος Ἀμφισσέ[ος] (*CID* II 43.14–23). We find nine instances of this use,⁶⁰ and these cases may be taken to indicate that *Opountios* was

56 A third-century epitaph from Thessalian Atrax commemorates Ἐχέλαος Λοκρὸς Ὀπούντιος (*SEG* 32 587); here, again, *Opountios* may reasonably be interpreted as the city-ethnic of Opous and the sequence *Lokros Opountios* as a mere variation on the well-known formula: name + regional ethnic + ἔξ + city, of which we find an instance in *IG* VII 4136 (= Sokolowski, *Lois sacrées* 73.228–26): Καλλικλίδας Λοκρὸς ἔσς Ὀπόντος. “Double ethnics”, of course, are perfectly normal; Arkadians from Kaphyai, for example, are found referred to as Καφυτιεύς Ἀρχάς (*sic*) (*CID* II 12.II.1) and as Ἀρκὰς ἐκ Καφύων (*I.Eph* 1459), both of the fourth century.

57 The others are: *CID* II 76.I.16–23; 79A.II.6–13; 82.17–25; 84.A.2; 86.6–14; 99.B.19; 100.I.12; 102.II.A.30.

58 That would mean that in the Classical period *all* East Lokrian *hieromnamones* came from Opous. Considering the sources indicating that Opous was the leading city of East Lokris (discussed below 111–115) this is entirely possible.

59 I take it that Ἀμφισσεύς in the sources referred to in this paragraph is the city-ethnic of the West Lokrian city of Amphissa and not used to refer to the West Lokrians as such. True, some sources use the expression οἱ Λοκροὶ οἱ Ἀμφισσεῖς: Aeschin. 3.113, 123 (οἱ Λοκροὶ οἱ Ἀμφισσεῖς), Diod. 18.38.2 (τοὺς Ἀμφισσεῖς Λοκροὺς πολιορκήσαντες), Paus. 2.8.4 (Λοκροὺς τοὺς Ἀμφισσεῖς; cf. also 3.9.9: οἱ ἔξ Ἀμφίσσης Λοκροί), Dem. *De cor.* 140 (τῶν Ἀμφισσέων τῶν Λοκρῶν, which is however usually read τῶν Ἀμφισσέων [τῶν Λοκρῶν], cf. Wankel comm. *ad loc.*); but in these cases (all that I have been able to find) the reference is obviously to the city of Amphissa, not to the West Lokrians as such (cf. however Lerat [1952] II.69–70 on Paus. 2.8.4), and there is thus no evidence that *Amphisseis* was used to refer to the *all* the West Lokrians in the way that *Ozolai* and *Hesperioi* were. Cf. Lerat (1952) 52 for the view that it was Amphissa *alone* and not the west Lokrian *koinon* which was a party to the Fourth Sacred War, and that Amphissa stood outside the West Lokrian *koinon*.

60 The others are: *CID* II 74.I.30–37 (Agasilaos Opountios and Herakleios *Amphisseus*); 74.I.41–

used as the city-ethnic of Opous. So, although the sources listed under (2a) may point to the use of *Opountian Lokrians* outside the literary sources, it remains preferable to interpret *Opountios* in the sources discussed here as the city-ethnic of Opous since that explains both the sources of (2a) and (2b) in a satisfactory way.

(3) A discussion of coin legends is appropriate here, since a fourth-century coin exists which has the legend ΟΠΟΝ(τίων) on the obverse and ΛΟ(κρῶν) on the reverse.⁶¹ A straightforward interpretation of these legends would be to combine the two legends to produce the legend ΛΟΚΡΩΝ ΟΠΟΝΤΙΩΝ, thus indicating the use of *Opountian Lokrians* in East Lokris itself. But before the merit of such an interpretation can be assessed we must review briefly the history of East Lokrian coin legends using the terms *Lokros* and/or *Opountios*.

(a) From the fifth century we have trihemioibols and obols, obv.: amphora; rev.: O in incuse square.⁶² Fourth-century silver coins, obv.: ΟΠΟΝ and amphora with grapes; rev.: star,⁶³ are quite similar and confirm that the fifth-century O should be considered an abbreviation of *Opountios*. These coins, obviously, may reasonably be taken to be ordinary civic coins struck by the city of Opous.⁶⁴ It is, however, very interesting that coins of the same appearance are found which are struck, not in the name of Opous, but of the Lokrians; thus a coin of, probably, the fifth century has the amphora on the obverse, and a Λ (lambda) in border of dots on the reverse.⁶⁵ This Λ is commonly taken to abbreviate ΛΟΚΡΩΝ,⁶⁶ and if accepted this suggests that there was no great difference between the two entities of "Opous" and "the Lokrians" (or that this was the message intended). Similarly, the fourth-century coins inscribed ΟΠΟΝ and mentioned above have close parallels in later coins inscribed ΛΟ or ΛΟΚΡ.⁶⁷

(b) From the fourth century comes a well-known series of coins, obv.: female head looking right or left; rev.: ΟΠΟΝΤΙΩΝ and Lokrian Aias, son of Oileus, in fighting attitude (Head, *HN*² 336 Fig. 190). These coins may again be taken to be the coinage of the city of Opous. It is, however, interesting that the types of these Opoun-

52 (Chaireas Orthagora *Messapios* and Kleomachos Pamphina *Opountios*); 74.II.21–28 (Agesilas *Opountios* and Herakleios *Amphisseus*); 92.1–2 (Ameinias *Opountios* and Mnasippos *Amphisseus*); 94.6 (same men as previous); 96.8 (Polykles *Opountios* and Mnasippos *Amphisseus*); 97.56–62 (Polykles *Opountios* and Eudikos *Amphisseus*); 102.I.A.13 (Polykles *Opountios* and Eutheas *Amphisseus*); 118.4 (Phillis *Opountios* and Philoxenidas *Amphisseus*)

61 Babelon (1914) no. 435.

62 *Archäologische Zeitung* no. 10 Oktober 1847, *I48* no. 15; *NC* 1895, 270 no. 3; Babelon (1914) nos. 423–4. Date: Ca. 458–56 (Babelon).

63 *BMC* Locris nos. 2–6; Babelon (1914) nos. 436, 436bis; David (1925) no. 12; MacDonald (1901) Locris no. 1. Date: 387–369.

64 The coinage of Opous is not, it should be noted, the only civic coinage of Classical East Lokris, Thronion striking in the fifth century too; see Rauch (1846) no. 12; *BMC* Thronium no. 1; Head, *HN*² 337; Babelon (1914) no. 460.

65 *BMC* Locris no. 1; Babelon (1914) no. 425. Date: Ca. 458–56 (Babelon), "before 387?" (*BMC*).

66 See Babelon (1914) *ad* no. 425 where he comments: "La lettre *lambda* de forme archaïque ... est l'initiale du nom des Locriens; elle fait de cette petite pièce frappée à Oponte, une monnaie fédérale." See also *NC* 1911 p. 99.

67 Obols, obv.: ΛΟ/ΛΟΚΡ and amphora; rev.: star in row of dots (*BMC* Locris no. 45; Babelon [1914] nos. 442–3). Date: 338–300 (*BMC*), "après 338" (Babelon).

tian coins are paralleled later in the fourth century by coins inscribed ΛΟΚΡΩΝ,⁶⁸ or ΛΟΚΡΩΝ ΥΠΙΟ(κνημιδίων),⁶⁹ again suggesting that “Opous”, “the Lokrians”, and “the Hypoknemidian Lokrians” were more or less the same thing (or that this was the message intended).

It thus seems that Opous struck coins now in its own name, now in the name of the (Hypoknemidian) Lokrians. The presumption is that there was no crucial difference between these two entities (and that this was the message intended?), and this observation may serve to strengthen the suggestion outlined below: that Opous was the leading *polis* of East Lokris (111–115). It would thus be better to interpret the coin inscribed ΟΠΙΟΝ on the obverse and ΛΟ(κρῶν) on the reverse⁷⁰ as one on which the two legends are uniquely employed simultaneously rather than as one which refers to the *Opountian Lokrians* of the literary sources. The distribution of the legend, were it meant to refer to the *Opountian Lokrians*, on both sides of the coin would also be unique and contrary to general Greek practice. Caspari (1917) catalogues at least 16 examples of Classical and later coinages struck by entities larger than a single *polis* and in all cases is the legend confined to a single side of the coin.⁷¹ In most of these cases, of course, the legend is a single-word legend such as ΟΙΤΑΙΩΝ or ΑΙΤΩΛΩΝ, but some legends are double-worded but still relegated to the same side of the coin: the Hellenistic bronze coins of the Achaian Confederacy with legends such as ΑΧΑΙΩΝ ΤΕΓΕΑΤΑΝ (Head, *HN*² 418) is a notable example, but others include ΛΥΚΙΩΝ ΦΕ of Hellenistic Phellos (Head, *HN*² 697), and, most importantly, ΤΑ(ναργαίων) ΒΟΙ(ωτῶν) from fifth-century Tanagra in neighbouring Boiotia (Head, *HN*² 348). On the other hand, from fourth-century Phokis come coins inscribed ΦΩΚΕΩΝ on the reverse and ΑΝ, ΕΛ, ΛΕ or ΛΙ on the obverse. If these abbreviations, as suggested by Head (*HN*² 339), stand for the ethnics of the Phokian towns of Antikyra, Elateia, Ledon and Lilaia, then we have an exact parallel to the interpretation I suggest for the Lokrian coin under discussion, i.e. to read ΟΠΙΟΝ as the city-ethnic of Opous and ΛΟ as a supplementary regional ethnic.

68 a) Triobols on the Aiginetan standard, obv.: helmeted head of Athena; rev.: ΛΟΚΡΩΝ with Lokrian Aias in fighting attitude (*BMC Locris* no. 42; MacDonald [1901] *Locris* nos. 12–3), date: ca. 338–300; b) tetrobol on the Attic standard, obv.: helmeted head of Athena; rev.: ΛΟΚΡΩΝ and Lokrian Aias in fighting attitude with trident at feet (Babelon [1914] no. 451, date: “de 316 à 300 environ”).

69 a) Staters, obv.: female head; rev.: ΛΟΚΡΩΝ and Lokrian Aias, son of Oileus, in fighting attitude with ΥΠΙΟ(κνημιδίων) in monogramme between legs (*BMC Locris* nos. 38–40; Babelon [1914] no. 438), date: ca. 338–300 (*BMC*), “après 338” (Babelon); b) triobol, of same description (Babelon [1914] nos. 439–40; MacDonald [1901] *Locris* no. 12), date: ca. 338–300; c) drachm, of similar description (Babelon [1914] no. 441), date: “Après 338” (Babelon).

70 Babelon (1914) no. 435.

71 The coinages are those of: Akarnania (Caspari no. 1); Achaia (Caspari no. 2); the Ainianes (Caspari no. 3); Aiolis (Caspari no. 4); Aitolia (Caspari no. 5); Delphic Amphiktion (Caspari no. 6); Arkadia (Caspari no. 7); Boiotia (Caspari no. 10); Chalkidike (Caspari no. 11); Epeiros (Caspari no. 13); Euboea (Caspari no. 14); Lykia (Caspari no. 18); Magnetes (Caspari no. 20); Oitaia (Caspari no. 22); the Perrhaibians (Caspari no. 24); Thessaly (Caspari no. 26). To these may be added the coinage of the Bottiaians, for which see most recently Psoma (1996); on the Bottiaians, see Flensted-Jensen (1995).

If the interpretations suggested above (1–3) are accepted, the inference is that *Opountian Lokrians* is indeed a designation confined to literary sources. This suggests the possibility that *Hypoknemidian Lokrians* was an epichoric name for inhabitants of East Lokris whereas *Opountian Lokrians* reflected the outsiders' view.⁷² If this is accepted, we need to account for the outsiders' preference for *Opountian Lokrians* instead of the internal name *Hypoknemidian Lokrians*. No Classical source states its reason for preferring *Opountian* to *Hypoknemidian*, but Strabo explains the designation *Opountian Lokrians* as due to the pre-eminence of the city of Opous.⁷³ That Opous was already in the Classical period the pre-eminent city of the *Hypoknemidian Lokrians* is borne out by the inscription Meiggs-Lewis, *GHI* 20 (see the analysis below 109–115).

It has now been established that of the three terms used to describe the East Lokrians, *Epiknemidioi*, *Hypoknemidioi* and *Opountioi*, the two latter are used to describe the same group, namely those East Lokrians whose chief city was Opous. Since the identity of *Hypoknemidian* and *Opountian Lokrians* is now certain for the fifth century, we must go on to investigate whether we can establish a territorially defined opposition between the *Hypoknemidian-Opountian Lokrians* and the *Epiknemidian Lokrians* in the Classical period.

Klaffenbach (who wanted to establish an opposition between the *Epiknemidian* and the *Hypoknemidian-Opountian Lokrians*) pointed out that it does not follow from the usage of Meiggs-Lewis, *GHI* 20 that the terms *Hypoknemidian* and *Opountian Lokrians* were used to refer to *all* inhabitants of what we call East Lokris.⁷⁴ That is correct. From the inscription it can only be deduced that *Hypoknemidian* and *Opountian Lokrians* were the same people and that Opous was their chief city. But, just because the inscription cannot be used to show that all East Lokrians were embraced by the expressions *Hypoknemidian* or *Opountian Lokrians* it does not, of course, follow that this was *not* the case. The inscription does, after all, contrast the Λοῦροι οἱ ὑποκναμίδιοι with the Λοῦροι οἱ ἑσπάριοι (cf. ll. 9 & 10) and it is perfectly possible that the two geographical attributes (*Hypoknemidians* [under Mt. Knemis] and *Wesparioi* [to the West]) are meant to contrast the West Lokrians as such with the East Lokrians as such.⁷⁵ It should, furthermore, be noted that authors such as Herodotos and Thucydides use *Opountian Lokrians* to refer to all East Lokrians (see below 117), and since they use this expression like Meiggs-Lewis, *GHI* 20 uses *Hypoknemidian Lokrians* the presumption is that this expression covers all East Lokrians. However, this does not preclude that in East Lokris itself *Epiknemidian* was used in opposition to *Hypoknemidian/Opountian* to refer to a particular area within it.⁷⁶ But this is what we must establish, and if we want to establish an

72 Note that *Ozolai* is used in much the same way about the West Lokrians, i.e. only by outsiders, whereas the epichoric name was *Lokroi hoi Hesperioi*, cf. Oldfather (1926) 1162–64. --- Philip of Opous wrote a work entitled Περὶ Λοκρῶν τῶν Ὀπουντίων (*RE* XIX 2354–55), but since such a work must have aimed at a readership also outside East Lokris the title should not be taken as proof of internal use of *Lokroi hoi Opountioi*. See also Beck (1999) 61.

73 Strabo 9.4.1–2; see also Eust. *Il.* 1.423.25–424.11 (repeating Strabo).

74 Klaffenbach (1926) 70.

75 So Oldfather (1926) 1158.

76 See the entry in *Etyim. Magn.* 360.32: ἘΠΙΚΝΗΜΙΔΙΟΙ τῶν Λοκρῶν οἱ μὲν Ἐπικνημίδιοι, οἱ

opposition between the Epiknemidian Lokrians and the Hypoknemidian-Opountian Lokrians, then we must begin by establishing that there was actually in the Classical period a subdivision within what we call East Lokris which was called the *Epiknemidian Lokrians*.

This is no simple matter, primarily because most of the sources concerning the Classical period and referring to the Epiknemidian Lokrians are, as we shall see, of highly questionable value. We must therefore begin our exploration of whether the Epiknemidians formed a territorially defined subdivision within Classical East Lokris by turning to Strabo.

Strabo does not use the term Ὑποκνημίδιος at all, but refers to the Ἐπικνημίδιοι 14 times, and gives two different meanings to the term: it is used to (a) refer to the part of East Lokris north of Daphnous in contradistinction to the southern part around Opous, or to (b) refer to East Lokris in general in contradistinction to West Lokris:

Re (a): i) 9.3.1: ὁ γὰρ Δαφνοῦς ἦν τότε τῆς Φωκίδος, σχίζων ἐφ' ἐκάτερα τὴν Λοκρίδα καὶ μέσος ταττόμενος τοῦ τε Ὀπουντίου κόλπου καὶ τῆς τῶν Ἐπικνημίδων παραλίας;⁷⁷ ii) 9.3.1 (explaining the division of the Lokrians into Westerners and Easterners): καλοῦνται δ' οἱ μὴν ἐσπέριοι Λοκροὶ καὶ Ὀζόλαι, ἔχουσί τε ἐπὶ τῇ δημοσίᾳ σφραγίδι τὸν ἑσπερον ἀστέρα ἐγκεχαραγμένον· οἱ δ' ἕτεροι δίχα πως καὶ αὐτοὶ διηρημένοι, οἱ μὲν Ὀπούντιοι ἀπὸ τῆς μητροπόλεως, ὁμοροὶ Φωκεῦσι καὶ Βοιωτοῖς, οἱ δ' Ἐπικνημίδιοι ἀπὸ ὄρους Κνημίδος, προσεχεῖς Οἰταίοις τε καὶ Μαλιεῦσιν;⁷⁸ iii) 9.3.17: [εἶρη]ται δὲ ὁ Δαφνοῦς ἐφ' ἐκάτερα τὴν Λοκρίδα [σχίσει, ὥστε] μηδαμοῦ ἄπτεσθαι ἀλλήλων τοὺς τ' Ἐπικνημίδιους καὶ τοὺς Ὀπουντίους;⁷⁹ iv) 9.4.1: ἡ Λοκρίς ... διήρηται ... δίχα· τὸ μὲν γὰρ αὐτῆς ἐστὶν οἱ πρὸς Εὐβοίαν Λοκροὶ [οὓς ἐλέ]γομεν σχίζεσθαι ποτε ἐφ' ἐκάτερα τοῦ Δαφνοῦντος· ἐπεκαλοῦντο δ' οἱ μὲν Ὀπούντιοι ἀπὸ τῆς μητροπόλεως, οἱ δὲ Ἐπικνημίδιοι ἀπὸ ὄρους τιнос Κνημίδος;⁸⁰ v) 9.4.1: χωρίζει δ' αὐτοὺς (sc. the Ozolian Lokrians) ἀπὸ τῶν Ὀπουντίων καὶ τῶν Ἐπικνημίδιων ὃ τε Παρνασσὸς μεταξὺ ἰδρυμένος καὶ ἡ τῶν Δωριέων τετράπολις;⁸¹ vi) 9.4.4: μετὰ δὲ Δαφνοῦντα

δὲ Ὑποκνημίδιοι ὀνομάζονται. ἀπὸ Κνήμιδος τοῦ ὄρους, which seems to attest to exactly such an opposition.

77 "For in those times Daphnus belonged to Phocis, splitting Locris into two parts, being placed midway between the Opuntian Gulf and the coast of the Epicnemidians" (modified Loeb).

78 "The Westerners are called Locrians and Ozolae; and they have the star Hesperus engraved on their public seal. The other division of inhabitants is itself also divided, in a way, into two parts: the Opuntians, named after their metropolis, whose territory borders on Phocis and Boeotia, and the Epicnemidians, named after a mountain called Cnemis, who are next to the Oetaeans and Malians" (Loeb).

79 "But as I have said, Daphnus "split" Locris on either side, so that the Epicnemidian and Opuntian Locrians nowhere bordered on one another" (Loeb).

80 "Locris ... is divided into two parts: one part is that which is inhabited by the Locrians and faces Euboea; and, as I was saying, it was once split into two parts, one on either side of Daphnus. The Opuntians were named after their metropolis, and the Epicnemidians after a mountain called Cnemis" (Loeb).

81 "They (sc. the Ozolian Lokrians) are separated from the Opountians and the Epicnemidians by Parnassus, which is situated between them, and by the Tetrapolis of the Dorians" (Loeb).

Κνημίδες, χωρίον ἐρυμνόν, ὅσον σταδίους εἴκοσι πλεύσαντι· καθ' ὃ τὸ Κήναιον ἐκ τῆς Εὐβοίας ἀντίκειται ... ταῦτα δ' ἤδη τῶν Ἐπικνημιδίων ἐστὶ Λοκρῶν.⁸² (Some other passages certainly uses *Epiknemidian* about what *must* include this area, but in such a way that it cannot entirely be excluded that the reference is to all of Lokris).⁸³

Re (b): i) 9.2.42: Ὑπέρκειται δ' Ὀρχομενίας ὁ Πανοπεύς, Φωκικὴ πόλις, καὶ Ὑάμπολις. τούτοις δ' ὁμορεῖ Ὀποῦς, ἡ τῶν Λοκρῶν μητρόπολις τῶν Ἐπικνημιδίων;⁸⁴ ii) 9.3.17: Δαφνοῦς δὲ νῦν μὲν κατέσκαπται· ἦν δὲ ποτε τῆς Φωκίδος πόλις ἀπτομένη τῆς Εὐβοϊκῆς θαλάττης, διαιρουσα τοὺς Ἐπικνημιδίους Λοκροὺς, τοὺς μὲν ἐπὶ τὸ πρὸς Βοιωτίαν μέρος, τοὺς δὲ πρὸς] Φωκίδα τὴν ἀπὸ θαλάττης καθήκ[ουσιν τότε ἐπὶ θάλλαν].⁸⁵

It thus appears that *Epiknemidian* is used in Strabo in the way *Hypoknemidian* may be used in Meiggs-Lewis, *GHI* 20, i.e. to distinguish between West Lokris and East Lokris, but also that *Epiknemidian* is used in opposition to *Opountian* (and by implication to *Hypoknemidian*)⁸⁶ and in such a way that the reference is to that part of East Lokris which is north-northwest of Daphnous. This opposition is clear in principle. Some sources assign specific communities to (a) the *Epiknemidians* as opposed to the *Opuntians*, others simply to (b) the *Epiknemidians*:

82 "After Daphnus one comes to Cnemides, a natural stronghold, about twenty stadia by sea; and opposite it, in Euboea, lies Cenaenum ... At this point we have now reached the territory of the Epiknemidian Locrians" (Loeb).

83 See 8.1.3, 9.1.1, 9.4.9bis, 9.4.10, 9.5.5.

84 "Above the Orchomenian territory lies Panopeus, a Phocian city, and also Hyampolis. And bordering on these is Opus, the metropolis of the Epiknemidian Locrians" (Loeb).

85 "Daphnus is now rased to the ground. It was at one time a city of Phocis, bordering on the Euboean Sea; it divided the Epiknemidian Locrians into two parts, one part in the direction of Boeotia, and the other facing Phocis, which at that time reached from sea to sea" (Loeb). – Other sources using *Epiknemidian* in this way are: *Chronicle of Monembasia*, sec. 6, MS A, p. 12, l. 104 (269/8 BC?): ... Λοκροῖς ἀμφοτέροις, Ἐπικνημιδίοις τε καὶ Ὀζόλαις κτλ.; Ael. Herod. *De pros. cath.* 3.1 70.1: Λοκρῶν μοῖραι τρεῖς εἰσιν Ἐπιζεφύριοι Ἐπικνημιδιοί, οἱ καὶ Ὀπουντιοὶ ὧν ἦν Αἴας, καὶ Ὀζόλαι; Steph. Byz. 484.10: Λοκρῶν μοῖραι τρεῖς εἰσιν, Ἐπιζεφύριοι, Ἐπικνημιδιοί, οἱ καὶ Ὀπουντιοὶ ὧν ἦν Αἴας, οἱ δὲ Ὀζόλαι; Eust. *Il.* 1.423.16–21: "Λοκρῶν, οἱ ναίουσι πέρην ἱερῆς Εὐβοίης". ἡ δὲ τοιαύτη ἐπανάληψις (cf. *Il.* 2.527) ὁμοία μὲν ἐστὶ τῇ πρὸ ταύτης, ἐν ἣ τὸς Φωκέων στρατηγοὺς μετὰ ἐπὶ τὰ σίχους ἐπανάλαβε, κατορθοῖ δὲ δύο τινά. τὴν τε γὰρ ἐφεξῆς ἱστορίαν προκαλεῖται· αὐτίκα γὰρ περὶ Εὐβοίας ἐρεῖ· καὶ Λοκρῶν διαφορὰν ἐμφαίνει ὥς καὶ ἐτέρων ὄντων. οὗτοι μὲν γὰρ Ἐπικνημιδιοὶ κατὰ τοὺς παλαιούς. εἰσι δὲ καὶ Ὀζόλαι, κείμενοι μὲν περὶ τὰ δυτικὰ τῆς Φωκίδος κτλ.; see also Eust. *Il.* 1.423.25–424.11; Vita schol. in Dionysium Periegetem 29.2: τρεῖς εἰσι Λοκρίδες· ἡ τῶν Ἐπικνημιδίων, ὅθεν ἦν Αἴας, ἡ τῶν Ὀζολῶν καὶ ἡ τῶν Ἐπιζεφυρίων μέρος οὕσα τῆς Ἰταλίας χώρας; Schol. vet. in Pind. *Ol.* 10, inscr. b: ἔθνη Λοκρῶν εἰσι τρία· Ἐπιζεφύριοι πρὸς Ἰταλίαν· Ὀζόλαι πρὸς τῇ Αἰτωλίᾳ· Ἐπικνημιδιοὶ πρὸς τῇ Εὐβοίᾳ; Schol. vet. in Pind. *Ol.* 10 18a: τρισσὰ εἰσιν <ἐν> Ἑλλάδι ἔθνη τῶν Λοκρῶν· Ἐπικνημιδιοὶ καὶ Ὀζόλαι <καὶ Ἐπιζεφύριοι>; Ἐπικνημιδιοὶ μὲν οἱ μετὰ τοῦ Οἰλέως Αἴαντος εἰς Ἴλιον παραγεγνημένοι; Schol. vet. in Pind. *Ol.* 11 14b: ἔθνη δὲ γ' Λοκρῶν· Λοκροὶ οἱ Ἐπιζεφύριοι οἱ ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ· Λοκροὶ Ὀζόλαι οἱ ἐν τῇ Αἰτωλίᾳ· Λοκροὶ οἱ Ἐπικνημιδιοὶ οἱ ἐν τῇ Εὐβοίᾳ; Schol. vet. in Pind. *Ol.* 11 14c: γένη καὶ ἔθνη τῶν Λοκρῶν εἰσι τρία, Ἐπιζεφύριοι, Ὀζόλαι, Ἐπικνημιδιοὶ. τούτων οἱ μὲν Ἐπιζεφύριοι εἰσι ἐν τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ, οἱ δὲ Ὀζόλαι πρὸς τῇ Αἰτωλίᾳ, οἱ δ' Ἐπικνημιδιοὶ πρὸς Εὐβοίᾳ, ὅθεν Αἴας ὁ Οἰλέως.

86 Quite explicit on this point is the entry in *Etym. Magn.* 360.32 (text quoted above note 76).

(a) communities ascribed to the Epiknemidians as opposed to the Opountians:

Knemides (Strabo 9.4.4).

Skarpheia (Ptol. *Geog.* 3.15.11).

Thronion (Ptol. *Geog.* 3.15.17, Eust. *Il.* 1.426.23–5 [?]⁸⁷).

(b) communities ascribed simply to the Epiknemidians

Alope (Strabo 9.4.9).

Kynos (Plin. *NH* 4.27, Eust. *Il.* 1.425.9–11).

Nikaia (Ael. Herod. *De pros. cath.* 3.1 272.4, Steph. Byz. 474.19–20, Suda v 380.5).

Opous (Strabo 9.2.42, Ael. Herod. *De pros. cath.* 3.1 243.1, Plin. *NH* 4.27, Steph. Byz. 494.8, Eust. *Il.* 1.425.9–11, Eust. *Il.* 1.426.2).

Skarpheia (*F.Delphes* III.4 38 [Hell.]).

Thronion (*F.Delphes* III.4 38 [Hell.]).

Clearly, if we want to establish an opposition between *Opountians* and *Epiknemidians* in the narrower sense, we cannot use the sources listed under (b) since they may well use *Epiknemidian* in the broad sense attested in Strabo. We can use only sources which explicitly oppose *Epiknemidian* and *Opountian*. Strabo does so in the case of Knemides and is of course correct, in the sense that Knemides can be reasonably located north of Daphnous, *i.e.* among the Epiknemidians in the narrow sense.⁸⁸ Since our picture of “Epiknemidian East Lokris” derives thus far exclusively from Strabo it is very interesting indeed that it is actually supported by other (but later) sources. The passage from Eustathios may be of doubtful value, but Ptolemaios explicitly distinguishes between Opountians and Epiknemidians and places both Skarpheia and Thronion (as well as the river Boagrius) correctly among the Epiknemidians in the narrower sense. Ptolemaios, however, misplaces Knemides among the Opountians (Ptol. *Geog.* 3.15.10), a detail which may suggest that he is not relying exclusively on Strabo who places Knemides “correctly”. So, it must be admitted that his evidence supports Strabo and lends credibility to the idea that Hellenistic and Roman East Lokris was subdivided into two parts: the Opountians with such communities as Opous and Kynos and the Epiknemidians (in the narrow sense) with such communities as Thronion and Skarpheia. Since we have already established that *Opountian Lokrians* and *Hypoknemidian Lokrians* referred to the same people in the Classical period, it is now time to ask whether we can trace the *opposition* between the *Epiknemidian Lokrians* and the *Hypoknemidian-Opountian Lokrians* back into the Classical period.

We may begin by noting that coin legends prove that the designation *Epiknemidian Lokrians* was used in East Lokris itself by the late Classical period: from the late fourth century comes a series of bronze coins, obv.: helmeted head of Athena;

87 Eust. *Il.* 1.426.23–25: τὸ δὲ θρόνιον τὸ κατὰ τὴν μεσσογαῖαν τῆς Κνημίδος – τῶν Ἐπικνημιδίων γὰρ ἔστι Λοκρῶν – αὐτὸ μὲν οὐκ ἐγκαθημένους ἔχει τοὺς παλαιούς εἰς τὸν περὶ αὐτοῦ πολὺν λόγον.

88 On the site of Daphnous in the plain of Longos, see Pritchett (1982) 149–51 and Fossey (1990) 11, 84, 141. On the site of Knemides, see Pritchett (1985) 188–9.

rev.: ΛΟΚΡ(ῶν) ΕΠΙΚΝΑ(μίδιων) with grapes.⁸⁹ This series may represent an entity different from the Opountians-Hypoknemidians and perhaps even a political organisation,⁹⁰ but it is not *in itself* proof of the *opposition* between Epiknemidians and Hypoknemidian-Opountians that we are looking for.

It is, however, not impossible that there existed in Classical East Lokris a subdivision by the name of Epiknemidian Lokrians similar to the narrow concept of Strabo, but due to the nature of our sources we cannot be entirely sure. Two late sources refer to Epiknemidian Lokrians in a way which indicates that Classical sources did so as well.

i) At 78.14–17, in his entry on Ἀλπῶνος, Stephanos of Byzantion first mentions a Macedonian (or Thessalian) city of that name and then goes on: ἔστι καὶ ἄλλη Λοκρῶν τῶν Ἐπικνημιδίων, ὡς Ἑλλάνικος ἐν πρώτῃ Δευκαλιωνείας. The natural interpretation of this passage is that Hellanikos is being cited for the identity of this second Alponos and that he is, then, the source for at least Λοκρῶν but probably also of τῶν Ἐπικνημιδίων. This seems the most obvious interpretation, but two things should be borne in mind: a) in two other passages Stephanos ascribes Nikaia (474.20–1) and Opos (494.8) to the Epiknemidians but gives no source reference for this information which may perfectly well stem from himself; b) even if *Epiknemidian* in the “Hellanikos fragment” stems from Hellanikos himself, then it may be used in the broad sense, a possibility which is even greater if *Epiknemidian* stems from Stephanos, since, as appears from Strabo, *Epiknemidian* was in post-Classical times used to refer to the East Lokrians as such.⁹¹ It is thus at least questionable whether we can use this passage as a genuine fragment of Hellanikos.

ii) Diod. 16.38.3: Φάυλλος δὲ στρατεύσας εἰς Λοκροὺς τοὺς ὀνομαζομένους Ἐπικνημιδίους τὰς μὲν ἄλλας πόλεις ἐχειρώσατο πάσας, μίαν δὲ τὴν ὀνομαζομένην Ναρυῖκα διὰ προδοσίας κτλ. (referring to 352 BC.). We do not know which source Diodoros is here following, though it may perfectly well be a fourth-century one.⁹² We must, then, restrict ourselves to the observation that we have here a source using *Epiknemidian* retrospectively in reference to the Classical period. Though Diodoros may himself be responsible for *Epiknemidian* here, he may just as well

89 *Archäologische Zeitung* no. 9 September 1849, 92 no. 20; *Archäologische Zeitung* no. 10 Oktober 1847, 148 no. 16; *BMC Locris* nos. 71–6; Babelon (1914) no. 456; SNG Cop. III [Aetolia-Euboea] nos. 74–6; date: 338–300.

90 As I have argued elsewhere (Nielsen [1996c]) the existence of a coinage struck by an entity larger than a single *polis* does not *by itself* prove that the issuing entity was e.g. a political confederacy.

91 In fact, Stephanos uses only *Epiknemidios* (78.16, 298.14, 474.20, 494.8) to distinguish the East Lokrians from the West Lokrians whom he calls *Ozolai* (52.6, 90.19, 102.1, 335.17, 628.1, 637.16, 644.4, 647.12). At 484.10 it appears that Stephanos knows of Ὀπούντιοι as a qualification of Λοκροί, and that he probably took it to refer to the East Lokrians as such: Ὀζόλαι. Λοκρῶν μοῖραι τρεῖς εἰσιν, Ἐπιζεφύριοι, Ἐπικνημίδιοι οἱ καὶ Ὀπούντιοι ὧν ἦν Αἴας, οἱ δὲ Ὀζόλαι. *Epiknemidian* here is certainly used in the broad sense, and so should *Opountioi* be, then. These observations suggest that for Stephanos *Epiknemidios* was the ordinary term for the East Lokrians.

92 Cf. Schwartz in *REV* 682 opined that: “Woher nun aber D. den grösseren Teil des XVI. Buches genommen hat, wird sich schwerlich bestimmen lassen.” See, however, Barber (1935) 40–41 and Sordi (1969) xii–xiv, pointing to Ephoros, Demophilos and Diyllos.

have reproduced it from his source which may be Classical. If *Epiknemidios* stems from Diodoros himself then there is a high probability that it is used the the broad sense. But it may be used in the broad sense even if he has taken it over directly from his source. We must then restrict ourselves to the observation that Naryka is here described as Epiknemidian in a source concerning the Classical period.

It is thus impossible to be certain that these two sources concerning the Classical period attest to the existence of *Epiknemidian Lokrians* in the narrow sense within East Lokris in the Classical period. The two sources under scrutiny may, however, lend some probability to the possibility that such a group existed, if we approach them from a slightly different angle. As we saw, Strabo thinks of the Epiknemidians in the narrow sense (*i.e.* opposed to the Opountians) as being situated north of Daphnous. Now, the city possibly described as belonging to the Epiknemidian Lokrians by Hellanikos, Alponos, was surely situated in this area.⁹³ Furthermore, the Diodorean passage clearly implies that Naryka was an Epiknemidian community. This community, too, was situated in the area of East Lokris that was north-northwest of Daphnous.⁹⁴ It thus seems possible that if Diodoros and Stephanos took over *Epiknemidian* from their sources, these sources used it in the narrow sense. That again should mean that if a subdivision by the name of *Epiknemidian Lokrians* existed in the Classical period it most probably corresponded to Strabo's narrow concept of the Epiknemidians. If, then, we accept that the Epiknemidians existed in the Classical period, we may offer the following tentative picture of Classical East Lokris and its subdivisions: south of Daphnous were the *Hypoknemidian Lokrians* who inhabited several *poleis* among which the leading one was Opous, a fact which gave rise to the literary expression *Opountian Lokrians*; north of Daphnous were the *Epiknemidian Lokrians* with such communities as Thronion, Naryka, and Alponos.

Before we turn to the discussion of whether these subdivisions corresponded to political units a word on origins is appropriate. As we have seen, Strabo explains the division between Epiknemidians and Opountians as having arisen from the Phokians' seizure of Daphnous. This is accepted by most modern scholars.⁹⁵ Natural features support the idea, since it is exactly at Daphnous that East Lokris is at its most narrow and the Dipotamos valley forms a natural corridor to Phokis.⁹⁶ So the idea may be accepted. What should be stressed is that the precise *date* of the Phokian seizure of Daphnous is completely beyond recovery.⁹⁷ The only source hinting at a date would put it in the heroic age.⁹⁸ Another source giving a *terminus ante quem* in the later fourth century should probably also be disregarded: in chapter 61 Ps.-Skylax gives the following list of Phokian (*sic*) *poleis*: Θρόνιον, Κνήμις, Ἐλάτεια, Πανοπεύς. Since Thronion is commonly regarded as East Lokrian (Thuc. 2.26.2),

93 Cf. Hdt. 7.216; on the site, see Pritchett (1982) 159–62.

94 On the site, see Pritchett (1982) 156–59, and Pritchett (1985) 167–71.

95 See, *e.g.*, Vischer (1871) 84; Klaffenbach (1926) 74–5; Fossey (1990) 7; Katsonopoulou (1990) 8–9.

96 Fossey (1990) 7.

97 So Oldfather in *RE* Suppl. III s.v. Daphnus col. 326

98 Schol. in Eur. *Or.* 1094 (Schwartz): μετὰ δέ τινα χρόνον Ὀρνυτος ὁ Σισύφου ἦκων ἐκ τῆς Ἀονίας αὐτόσε καὶ πολεμοῦντας εὐρὼν Ὑαμπολίτας πρὸς Ὀπουντίους Λοκροὺς περὶ Δαφνοῦντος συμμαχήσας τε ἐνίκησε καὶ ἥρξεν αὐτῶν.

but is here treated as Phokian, it is possible that Phokis at the time of composition controlled Thronion, and thus presumably Daphnous *etc.* at the same time and then in the fourth century.⁹⁹ But another possibility is that the transmitted text of Ps.-Skylax is not sound, and that Θρόνιον is a corruption of Τιθρόνιον;¹⁰⁰ if that is accepted, we will have a list of exclusively Phokian localities, opening with a *polis* (Tithronion), going on to a mountain (Knemis), and ending with two *poleis* (Elateia and Panopeus), a list which then resembles, *e.g.*, the one found in chapter 62: *Thermopylai* (a pass), *Trachis* (a *polis*), *Oite* (a mountain), *Herakleia* (a *polis*), *Spercheios* (a river).¹⁰¹ The proposed emendation will remove this scrap of (indirect) evidence for the date of the Phokian seizure of Daphnous. Finally, we may note that at 1.3.20 Strabo in his account of the earthquake of, probably, 426 B.C.¹⁰² refers to τοῦ Φωκικοῦ Δαφνοῦντος. Strabo's account is based on Demetrios of Kallatis (*FGrHist* 85, fr. 6); if Strabo took over Φωκικοῦ from Demetrios we have a *terminus ante quem* of ca. 200 BC,¹⁰³ but there is no reason why the word cannot be Strabo's own. Strabo, then, must be our *terminus ante quem*. However, if it really was this Phokian seizure which led to the divisions inside East Lokris, then it should, one may surmise, have occurred before Hellanikos wrote and before Meiggs-Lewis, *GHI* 20 was passed. This is entirely possible: after all Herodotos implies early Phokian control of Thermopylai.¹⁰⁴

III. The Subdivisions as Political Entities

The next problem is to investigate whether these two divisions formed distinct political groups. A brief comparison with Arkadia may serve to out-line the problems and perspectives involved in this question:¹⁰⁵ in the Classical period the Arkadians formed a recognised ethnic unit, but it was only during the 360s that this ethnic unit corresponded to a political unit as expressed in the Arkadian Confederacy.¹⁰⁶ Instead, Arkadia was split up into a number of *poleis*, great and small, which formed different kinds of groupings. Thus, we find hegemonial symmachies,¹⁰⁷ *poleis* united by *sympoliteia*,¹⁰⁸ by *synteleia*,¹⁰⁹ and in tribal states.¹¹⁰ The tribal states united

99 The treatise of Ps.-Skylax probably dates to 340–330 BC, in the form in which we have it; cf. Flensted-Jensen & Hansen (1996) 137.

100 I owe this suggestion to M.H. Hansen.

101 See further Flensted-Jensen & Hansen (1996) 141.

102 Fossey (1990) 183–184.

103 Cf. *RE* IV col. 2807.

104 Hdt. 7.176.4; cf. Larsen (1968) 41–42.

105 For the details of the following section on Arkadia, see Nielsen (1999) and the works referred to in the following notes.

106 For which see Larsen (1968) 180–95, Dušanić (1970), and Beck (1997) 67–83.

107 Nielsen (1996a) 77–87.

108 Nielsen (1996a) 67–71.

109 Nielsen (1996a) 84–6.

110 For the so-called tribal states of Arkadia, see Roy (1972), Roy (1996), Nielsen (1996a) 100–103, Nielsen (1996b) 132–43.

the, mostly very small, *poleis* of what was in effect four sub-*ethne* (the Eutresians, the Kynourians, the Mainalians, and the Parrhasians) of the Arkadian *ethnos* into federation-like states¹¹¹ which were capable of concluding alliances and which entered the Arkadian Confederacy *as tribal states*, not as single *poleis*.¹¹² Finally, the Arkadian “region” of Azania provides us with an example of a subregional area which was in the Classical period *not* a political unit, but merely a geographical region.¹¹³

The ethnic unit to which the East Lokrians belonged was, as we have seen, the Lokrian *ethnos* which was subdivided into the West Lokrians and the East Lokrians. The Lokrian *ethnos* resembled the Arkadians in that it did not correspond to a political unit, a fact recognised by the Delphic Amphiktion which assigned a *hieromnemon* to each one of the geographically severed groups. Within East Lokris it is conceivable that the Epiknemidian Lokrians and the Hypoknemidian-Opountian Lokrians formed two sub-regional *ethne*, each united in some sort of federation, like the Arkadian Mainalians and Parrhasians. But as the Mainalian membership of the Arkadian Confederacy shows, such subregional federations could very well be members of larger organisations, which, in East Lokrian terms, suggests the possibility that (the) two subregional organisations may have been united in a common superstructure. Finally, it is possible that *Epiknemidian* referred merely to an area within East Lokris which was not a political unit and thus resembled Arkadian Azania.

An analysis of Meiggs-Lewis, *GHI* 20 is a suitable point of departure for the discussion of the political organisation of East Lokris in the Classical period. The inscription contains a set of detailed regulations setting out the conditions under which an *epoikia* of the Hypoknemidian Lokrians are to settle in West Lokrian Naupaktos.¹¹⁴ The East Lokrians, from whom the *epoikoi* are drawn, are repeatedly referred to as *Hypoknemidian Lokrians* (ll. 1, 5, 6bis, 8–9, 17, 20, 21, 24, 24–5, 26, 29–30, 33–4, 46). It is clear that these Hypoknemidian Lokrians are settled in several *poleis*¹¹⁵ and that the *epoikoi* are drawn from more than one of these (ll. 21, 26, 28). However, the *epoikoi* are under oath not to secede from the *Opountians*: ἐνορϑον τοῖς ἐπιφοίκοις ἐν Ναυπακτον μὲ ᾽ποστᾶμεν ἀπ’ Ὀ<πο>ντίον (l. 11), and this oath may be renewed after thirty years, the Naupaktians giving oath to the *Opountians* and the *Opountians* to the Naupaktians: τὸν ὁρκὸν ἐξεῖμεν αἱ κα δέιλονται, ἐπά-

111 See Gehrke (1986) 154.

112 See *IG* V.2 1.

113 For the Azanians, see Nielsen & Roy (1998).

114 Basic discussions of the inscription are found in Graham (1971) 44–61, 230–2, and Koerner in *IGT* no. 49, 175–202, to mention just a few.

115 Cf. Gschnitzer (1958) 57; Larsen (1968) 51, 52; Koerner in *IGT* no. 49, 178. See also Beck (1999) 57–59. Just how many *poleis* the Hypoknemidians inhabited the inscription does not show, but an impression of plurality is certainly conveyed by a passage such as ὁπόσ ἀ πόλις ἑκάστον νομίζει (l. 26) = “as the law stands in the city of the Hypoknemidian Lokrians in each case” (Meiggs-Lewis); since Opous is – on my interpretation – referred to by name in the inscription, the passage κέν Λορῶις τοῖς ὑποκναμιδίοις ἐν ταῖ πόλι ἡ ὁ κ’ ἔι, καρῶσαι ἐν τῶγορᾷ (ll. 21–22) = “make proclamation ... among the Hypoknemidian Lokrians in the marketplace in the city whence he comes”, strongly indicates that the organisation comprised at least two other *poleis* in addition to Opous.

γεν μετὰ τριάκοντα φέτεα ἀπὸ τοῦ ὁρῶ ἑκατὸν ἄνδρας Ὀποντίους Ναυπακτίον καὶ Ναυπακτίους Ὀποντίους (ll. 12–4); moreover, trials between *epoikoi* and Hypoknemidians are to take place in *Opous*: ἐν Ὀπόεντι (l. 33), and, finally, it is decreed that the regulations may only be changed by mutual agreement between both parties, the Naupaktian *epoikoi* and the *Opountian Thousand*: ἀνφοτάρους ... ἡποντίον τε χιλίον πλέθει καὶ Ναυπακτίον τὸν ἐπιφοίρον πλέθει (ll. 39–40). It thus seems that whereas the people from whom the *epoikoi* are drawn and who live in several *poleis* are called *Hypoknemidian Lokrians*, the political power behind this law (θέθμιον, l. 46), is referred to as the *Opountians*.¹¹⁶ Larsen, however, believed that *Opountian* was merely a synonym for *Hypoknemidian* and took the use of these two terms side by side to be simply a reflection of “the prominence of Opus as the capital city” since he took it to be “out of the question that all these colonists from various cities should take an oath of loyalty to the city of Opus.”¹¹⁷ Similarly, he took the stipulation that lawsuits between Hypoknemidians and *epoikoi* were to take place ἐν Ὀπόεντι (l. 33) to be a reference “to courts in the cities throughout Eastern

116 Beck (1999) 58–59 argues that the three instances of *Opountioi* in l. 12ff. refer to the same body (“Gremium”) as *The Thousand Opuntians* in l. 39. If that was true, and if the *Thousand* was the federal assembly (which is not certain), the inscription would not attest the city-ethnic of Opous and the interpretation I suggest here would be less likely. But I do not think that it is true. First, it is not easy to explain why the full, and presumably formally more correct name (*The Thousand Opountians*), is used only after the unit to which it refers has already been introduced by short-hand (*Opountians*), as it would be. Furthermore, whereas in l. 39 *The Opountian Thousand* clearly refers to a political institution of the “Opountians”, whether they be all East Lokrians or the citizens of Opous only, the use of *Opountians* in l. 13ff. must refer to the *community* of these Opountians not merely an institution of theirs. How could one defect from an institution (μὲ ποστᾶμεν ἀπ’ Ὀ<πο>ντίον)? One defects from a community. Furthermore, there can be no denying that *Naupaktioi* in l. 14 is used about the *community* of Naupaktos. But in the same sentence *Opountioi* is used in parallel with *Naupaktioi*: ἑκατὸν ἄνδρας Ὀποντίους Ναυπακτίον καὶ Ναυπακτίους Ὀποντίους. It must denote the *community* of the Opountians, not an institution. Finally, this passage is concerned with an oath; oaths are exchanged between communities, not between institutions, and when contracts such as treaties etc. are sealed by oaths the contracting parties are regularly named by their ethnics, not by the name of the institutions actually swearing the oath, as the following few Athenian examples show: *IG I³ 54*: treaty of *symmachia* between Athens and Leontinoi: τέμ μὲν χουμαχίαν εἶναι Ἀθηναίους καὶ Λεοντίνους καὶ τὸν ὄρκον δῶναι καὶ δεχασσῆθαι ὁμόσαι δὲ Ἀθηναῖος τάδε ...; *IG I³ 62*: oath by the Aphytaians to Athens and the *epoikoi* in Poteidaia: τὸν [δὲ ὄρκον, δν ὦ]μοσαν Ἀφυτᾶι[οι] τοῖς ἐποίκοι[ς] τοῖς ἐμ Πετεδαία[ι καὶ Ἀθηναί]οις; *IG I³ 127*: agreements between Athens and Samos sealed by oaths: κατὰ τὸς ὄρκος καὶ τὰς συνθήκας καθάπερ ξύνκειται Ἀθηναίους καὶ Σαμίους; *IG II² 16.12–13*: envoys to receive oaths from the Eretrians: οἵτινες ἀπολήψονται τοὺς ὄρκους παρὰ Ἐρετ[ρ]ιέω[ν]. Also, in Xen. *Hell.* 6.3.19 it appears clearly that in 371 BC Thebes was entered as θηβαῖοι among ταῖς ὁμομοκυνίαις πόλεσι. There can be no doubt that in these cases the plural of the ethnic denotes the communities. Of course, the actual swearing of an oath was the business of officials (cf. Thuc. 5.47.8 [Μαντινῆς ... ὁμνύντων] & 5.47.9 [ἐν δὲ Μαντινείᾳ οἱ δημιουργοὶ καὶ ἡ βουλὴ κτλ.]; see also *IG I³ 76.8–17*), but these officials must have acted in the name of/as representatives of their communities (so Plescia [1970] 60).

117 Larsen (1968) 51; see also 54. Gschnitzer (1958) 58 had no problem in assuming that the *epoikoi* swore the oath to the city of Opous.

Locris".¹¹⁸ He thus thought of East Lokris as a region subdivided into *poleis* united in a confederacy whose "capital" was Opous, a confederacy, whose people could be called both *Hypoknemidian Lokrians* and *Opountians*.

Larsen's interpretation explains how the designation *Opountian Lokrians* arose: since *Opountians* was used in East Lokris itself side by side with *Hypoknemidian Lokrians* to refer to the population, literary writers developed the designation *Opountian Lokrians* and both designations, *Opountians* and *Opountian Lokrians*, reflected the prominence of Opous within the region and the confederacy. This interpretation is, however, not without problems: there are no *certain* Classical parallels outside Meiggs-Lewis, *GHI* 20 to the use (a) of unqualified *Opountians* to refer to the population of all of East Lokris (and unqualified Ὀπουντίος seems generally to be the city-ethnic of Opous)¹¹⁹; (b) of Ὀπόεις = Λοκρίς (as it must be on Larsen's interpretation),¹²⁰ and these difficulties should encourage us to at least consider other interpretations if any can be proposed. And it is, as has been pointed out before, not impossible that Ὀπουντίος in Meiggs-Lewis, *GHI* 20 should be understood as the city-ethnic of Opous.¹²¹ If this is accepted the inscription presents us with the fol-

118 Larsen (1968) 52. Gschnitzer (1958) 57 took the text to mean what it says: that the trials were to take place in the city of Opous.

119 See e.g. *SEG* 23 415 with Walter (1993) 131 n. 38. Coin legends of the form ΟΠΙΟΝΤΙΟΝ *vel sim.* probably, though not *certainly*, refer to Opous (see above); *IG* II² 572, as restored, is a late fourth-century honorary decree for *presbeis* of τῶν Ὀπουντίων], to be contrasted with *IG* II² 15 of 395/4, a treaty between Athens and the Λοκροί; in the Delphic material as found in *CID* II, Ὀπουντίος is also best explained as the city-ethnic of Opous (see above); but the best example is *Diod.* 19.78.5 (f313): τῶν Ὀπουντίων τὰ Κασάνδρου φρονούντων συνεστήσατο πολιορκίαν καὶ συνεχεῖς προσβολὰς ἐποιεῖτο. Here it may also be noted that a series of Hellenistic decrees found in Opous (cf. Fossey [1990] 71) and passed by a political organisation with Opous at its centre strongly suggests that at this time *Opountios* functioned only as the city-ethnic of Opous, since the enactments formulas take pains to underline that the decrees were passed by an entity larger than the single city of Opous: ... Ὀπουντίοι καὶ Λοκροὶ οἱ μετὰ Ὀπουντίων ἔδωκαν (*IG* IX.1 269); Ὀπουντίοι καὶ Λοκροὶ οἱ μετὰ Ὀπουντίων ἔδωκαν (*IG* IX.1 271); Ὀπουντίοι καὶ Λοκροὶ οἱ μετὰ Ὀπουντίων ἔδωκαν (*IG* IX.1 272); [Ὀπουντίοι καὶ Λοκροὶ οἱ μετὰ] Ὀπουντίων ἔδωκαν (*IG* IX.1 275); Ὀπουντίοι καὶ Λοκροὶ [οἱ μετὰ Ὀπουντίων ἔδω]καν (*IG* IX.1 276). See also *IG* IX.1² 72, found at Thermos in Aitolia: ἡ πόλις τῶν Ὀπουντίων καὶ οἱ Λοκροὶ οἱ μεθ' Ὀπουντίων ... ἀνέστηκαν. If *Opountios* had a prehistory as a name for entities larger than Opous itself, it is not reflected in these inscriptions.

120 A possible instance of such a use is, however, found in *Paus.* 9.23.7 where he says about Larymna – which he has just described as Βοιωτῶν πόλις Λάρυμνα – that συνετέλει δὲ ἐς Ὀπουντία τὸ ἀρχαῖον. Since the issue here is the regional affiliation of Larymna, it is possible that "Opous" stands for all of East Lokris to which Larymna belonged in the fourth century (*Ps.-Skylax* 60). Beck (1999) 61 interprets the passage to mean that Larymna was part of a small unit (*synteleia*) dominated by Opous and perhaps also comprising Kynos (and Halai?). It cannot be denied that Pausanias sometimes transmits evidence of such *synteleiai* (cf. 8.27.3 with Nielsen [1996a] 84–86), but in the present passage συνετελεῖν ἐς certainly means "form part of" in a geographical sense; similar uses are found at *Paus.* 5.8.7 (ἐκ Σμύρνης συντελουσῆς ἦδη τηνικαυτὰ ἐς Ἴωνας), 6.12.9 (... ἐς Ἀρκάδας ἡγοῖτο ἂν τις συντελέσαι τοὺς Τριταεῖς, καθὰ καὶ νῦν ἔτι Ἀρκάδων αὐτῶν εἰσιν οἱ ἐς τὸ Ἀργολικὸν τελοῦντες, cf. Nielsen & Roy [1998] 38).

121 Klaffenbach (1926) 70 took this to be obvious, and so too does Gschnitzer (1958) 57–8 clearly. It is also the opinion of Meiggs-Lewis, see *GHI* p. 37.

lowing picture: the Hypoknemidian Lokrians lived in several *poleis* which were united in a political organisation whose leading city was Opous; Opous was so powerful within the organisation that the other *poleis* of the Hypoknemidian Lokrians, though they retained their *polis* status and institutions,¹²² were in fact dependencies of Opous while Opous was the *hegemon* of the Hypoknemidian Lokrians and their *poleis*. In other words, the *poleis* of the Hypoknemidian Lokrians were dependent *poleis* of Opous.¹²³ Though details will of course have differed, a parallel to this suggested position of Opous within the Hypoknemidian League (as we may call it) may be provided by the position which the Thebans occupied within the Boiotian Confederacy. The Boiotian Confederacy became “not only politically but even *constitutionally* ... dominated by Thebes” (my italics).¹²⁴ This Theban domination of the Boiotian Confederacy is, among other things, exemplified by the fact that Thebes was free – even as a member of the Confederacy – to conclude treaties with foreign powers independently of the Confederacy.¹²⁵ It is also, as pointed out by Ste. Croix, reflected in Xenophon’s use of the terms *Thebaioi* and *Boiotoi* which he treats as “virtually interchangeable terms”.¹²⁶ So Thebes’ dominance inside the Confederacy was reflected in the language of Xenophon in much the same way as the dominance of Opous in East Lokris was reflected in the designation “Opountian Lokrians”.

So, my suggestion is that Opous occupied a position of dominance within the Hypoknemidian League broadly similar to that occupied by Thebes within the Boio-

122 See Gschnitzer (1958) 57: “... erfahren wir, dass das hypoknemidische Recht von Stadt zu Stadt verschieden ist.”; Larsen (1968) 51: “But these communities [sc. the *poleis* of the Hypoknemidians other than Opous] also have laws of their own”.

123 The Hypoknemidian *poleis* are thus an example of *poleis* which lost their *autonomia* through membership of a federation, i.e. an example belonging in type 7 of Hansen’s *Typology of Dependent Poleis*, for which see *CPCPapers* 4 (1997) 29, 34. Gschnitzer (1958) 58–9 in effect treats Opous as the leader of a number of dependent *poleis*. Koerner in *IGT* no. 49, 178 comes close to the position outlined when he (lacking the concept of the dependent *polis*) states: “Man kann diesen hypoknemidischen Staat nur schwer in die gängigen Kategorien einordnen; einiges spricht nach dem Gesagten für einen Bundesstaat, andererseits ist die Führungsrolle von Opous so eindeutig, dass man lieber von einer Hegemonie dieser Polis über den hypoknemidischen Stamm reden wird.” The reconstruction offered here solves this problem by making Opous the leading *polis* of a number of dependent *poleis* formally united in a federation.

124 For this point, see Hansen (1995) 36 with full refs. in n. 62. See also Hansen (1996c) 134. Dr. H. Beck points out to me that whereas Thebes was certainly constitutionally favoured within the Boiotian Confederacy 427–386, the situation is less clear after 379/8, for which see Beck (1997) 208–210. In the present context my point is simply that within a federation of *poleis* one *polis* may be favoured at the expense of the others. Another federation which was in all likelihood dominated by a single city, i.e. Lepreon, was the Triphylian federation of the fourth century, see Nielsen (1997) 153–154.

125 Hansen, *ibidem*.

126 See Ste. Croix (1972) 335–336. Ste. Croix draws attention to a) *Hell.* 4.5.9 which introduces some πρέσβεις τῶν Βοιωτῶν who are then in the next paragraph referred to as τοὺς Θηβαίων μέντοι πρέσβεις; and b) Tod, *GHI* II 101, a treaty between Athens and the Boiotian Confederacy describing itself as [Συμ]μαχία Βοιωτῶν καὶ Ἀθηναίων, which *Hell.* 3.5.7 & 3.5.17 describes as concluded between Athens and the Thebans; it may also be noted that the speech by the Theban envoys four times refer to ἡ πόλις, meaning Thebes and not the Confederacy (*Hell.* 3.5.8ter, 3.5.15).

tian Confederacy. Exactly in what way the other *poleis* were dependent on Opous can only be suggested in very broad terms. But Meiggs-Lewis, *GHI* 20 shows Opous, it may be said, conducting foreign policy on behalf of, or at least as the leader of, the other Hypoknemidian *poleis* and this may suggest that these other *poleis* had restricted freedom of movement in foreign policy.¹²⁷ Since freedom of action in foreign affairs was an important aspect of *autonomia*¹²⁸ we may say that the Hypoknemidian *poleis* led by Opous were not wholly *autonomoi*. Furthermore, the sole control over one's citizenbody was another vital aspect of *autonomia*;¹²⁹ but the treaty concluded by Opous provided for the return of *epoikoi* to their old communities,¹³⁰ under conditions settled in advance and by Opous. It thus seems quite possible that Opous treated the other *poleis* as dependencies though more details are beyond recovery. Another aspect of this issue is, of course, that Opous may have monopolised certain functions. It is, for example, very likely that Opous alone provided the Delphic Amphiktion with the *hieromnamon* representing East Lokris (see above 99).¹³¹ The centrality of Opous is, moreover, reflected in tradition: at 9.4.9 Strabo states that the West Lokrians were *apoikoi* of the East Lokrians, but does not give further details. However, at 9.4.2 Strabo quotes a fifth-century inscription commemorating Lokrians who died at Thermopylai,¹³² and this inscription describes Opous as μητρόπολις Λοκρῶν εὐθυνόμων, thus suggesting that Opous was regarded as the coloniser hinted at by Strabo in the later passage.¹³³ One foundation legend of the West Lokrian *poleis* involves Opous, embodied by its eponym Opous the son of Lokros: according to Arist. fr. 561 (Rose) Lokros founded all the *poleis* of the Ozolian Lokrians after a quarrel with his son Opous.¹³⁴ In this tradition, which is attested by both Lokrian and non-Lokrian sources, Opous appears not merely a chief *East*

127 See the general remark by Walter (1993) 131 to the effect that "wie die Epoikeninschrift zeigt, erhebliche Eingriffe in die lokale Autonomie möglich waren."

128 Hansen (1995) 27.

129 Hansen (1995) 26–27.

130 See Meiggs-Lewis, *GHI* 20.19–31.

131 How *hieromnamones* were selected is unknown, cf. Roux (1979) 20–22; but if one city consistently provides the *hieromnamon* we may reasonably see herein a sign of the prestige etc. of this city; Amphissa seems to enjoyed a similar pre-eminence among the West Lokrians, cf. Lerat (1952) I.15, 35, II.57–60.

132 See Lorenz (1976) no. 9 and Molyneux (1992) 182–183.

133 Cf. Lerat (1952) II.14: "Le titre de "métropole des Locriens", que se décernait Oponte sur la stèle des Thermopyle, affirmait sans doute ses prétentions d'être la ville-mère de tous les Locriens et non pas seulement de Locriens de l'Est" (original *italics*). Pind. *Ol.* 9.20 likewise describes Opous as Λοκρῶν ... μητὴρ ("mother-city of the Locrians", Sandys in Loeb; "métropole des Locriens", Puech in Budé). See also Ps.-Skymnos 478–480 (Λοκροὶ οὓς Ὀζόλας καλοῦσιν ἀποίκους γενομένους ἀπὸ τῶν πρὸς Εὐβοίαν Λοκρῶν ἐστραμμένων). Cf. Lerat (1952) II.5, and Jeffery (1976) 75: "... eastern Lokris was regarded as the original source of *all* Lokrians" (*italics original*). See also Beck (1999) 61–62. Katsonopoulou (1990) 17 suggests that the tradition of East Lokrian colonisation of West Lokris corresponds to historical fact.

134 Plut. *Quaest. Graec.* 15, presumably drawing on the Aristotelian Ὀπουντίων πολιτεία. This work also recounted the colonisation of Amphissa, but how this tradition is connected with Opous is obscure (fr. 562).

Lokrian city, but as the chief *Lokrian* city at large.¹³⁵ It is, perhaps, more than a coincidence that Meiggs-Lewis, *GHI* 20 is concerned with colonisation in West Lokris?¹³⁶

The advantage offered by the interpretation proposed here is that we get rid of the awkward assumption that a law would use two different terms for the same population, and, furthermore, that we can assign specific meanings to both *Hypoknemidian Lokrians* and *Opountians*: *Hypoknemidian Lokrians* refers to all the member-*poleis* of the League whereas *Opountians* refers to the citizens of the dominant *polis*, Opous.

However, a problem remains. The problem is that it seems to appear from l. 39 that there was an assembly called the *Opountian Thousand*. On Larsen's interpretation this assembly may well be the federal assembly of the Hypoknemidian Lokrians as such,¹³⁷ whereas on the interpretation suggested here it should be the assembly of the city of Opous. Now, it is commonly assumed that the organisation reflected in this inscription was oligarchic¹³⁸ and that a property qualification was laid down for the exercise of citizenship.¹³⁹ Even if the name the *Thousand* need not imply that there were exactly 1000 citizens,¹⁴⁰ it is of course not impossible that the name actually reflected the order of size of those entitled to attend the assembly. A citizenbody of a thousand citizens with a property qualification may seem very large for Opous. However, it is not impossibly large, as the following consideration makes clear: during the Thermopylai campaign in 480, the *Opountian Lokrians* served πανστρατιῇ (Hdt. 7.203.1); this probably means that they put all active *hoplites* into the field.¹⁴¹ Herodotos does not translate πανστρατιῇ into a numerical figure, but Diodoros does: 1000 Lokrians served with Leonidas (Diod. 11.4.7). *If* (and this is a big *if*) Diodoros' 1000 Lokrians is a true numerical translation of Herodotos' πανστρατιῇ, then it follows that Opous and the other Hypoknemidian *poleis* were able to put a thousand *hoplites* into action. Assuming these to be of the age 20–49 and to constitute ca. 80% of all men of *hoplite* status,¹⁴² the number of men aged 29–49 and qualifying as *hoplites* will have been 1250, and the group aged 18–80+ will have counted ca. 1700 men. Adding adult males not qualifying as *hoplites* we reach ca.

135 See the citation from Lerat note 133 above.

136 Cf. Lerat (1952) II.14, and II.30 where it is suggested that Naupaktos had sent to Opous "comme à leur métropole" to ask for support against aggression. In this connection it is interesting that Ὀζόλαι may perhaps be derived from ὄζος; branch, shoot; Macan *ad* Hdt. 8.32 suggests it would then mean "the Branch-Lokri, from the parent stem in Opūs"; see also Lerat (1952) II.7.

137 So Larsen (1968) 52–3.

138 So Vischer (1871) 70, Larsen (1968) 53, Jeffery (1976) 76 ("the hereditary oligarchy of the Hundred and the Thousand").

139 Larsen (1968) 53. See also Forrest in *CAH*² III.3 (1982) 304.

140 So Larsen (1968) 53.

141 That πανστρατιῇ does not mean "every available man" but "every fit *hoplite*" appears from Thuc. 2.31 where the Athenians are said to operate πανστρατιῇ in the Megarid although a hundred ships are in action around the Peloponnese. The situation here is an *exact* parallel: while the Lokrians operate πανστρατιῇ at Thermopylai, a navy of theirs comprising seven *pentekonteroi* operates at Artemision (Hdt. 8.1.2).

142 See Hansen (1985) 19–20.

3.400 for the entire adult male population of Opous and the Hypoknemidian Lokrians. If we assign 1200 of the 1700 adult male of hoplite status to Opous and 500 to the other Hypoknemidian *poleis*, then there is no problem in assuming an Assembly of *The Thousand* with a hoplite census in Opous, and we may suggest that of the 1,000 hoplites serving at Thermopylai, Opous provided, say, 700 and the other Hypoknemidians 300. This is in harmony with the evidence suggesting that Opous was the leading *polis* of the Hypoknemidians, though it is here only intended to show that it is indeed not impossible to interpret the *Thousand Opountians* as the assembly of the city of Opous.

So the question of whether the *Opountian Thousand* was the assembly of the city of Opous or of the Hypoknemidian Confederacy must be left open, since both Larsen's interpretation and the one suggested here are possible.¹⁴³

It is thus impossible to decide finally whether the term Ὀπώντιοι in Meiggs-Lewis, *GHI* 20 is used as a synonym of Λοκροὶ οἱ ὑποκναμίδιοι or whether it refers specifically to the citizens of Opous though I incline towards the latter view: that it is the city-ethnic of Opous. However, both Larsen's interpretation and the one suggested here adequately explains why literary writers used Λοκροὶ οἱ Ὀπούντιοι for Λοκροὶ οἱ ὑποκναμίδιοι: they did so because Opous was the leading *polis* among the Hypoknemidian Lokrians.

A final question concerns the *kind* of organisation reflected in Meiggs-Lewis, *GHI* 20. In the discussion above I have reproduced Larsen's "Confederacy" when referring to his position, but used "League" when referring to the proposed alternative. Larsen defines a "Confederacy" as "a state in which there is local citizenship in the smaller communities as well as a joint or federal citizenship and in which the citizens are under the jurisdiction of both federal and local authorities."¹⁴⁴ Larsen's application of the term "Confederacy" to the organisation attested in the inscription is consistent with this definition since with his interpretation of *Opountios* as equivalent to *Hypoknemidios* the inscription shows an organisation with double citizenship. But if *Opountios* is understood, as proposed here, as the city-ethnic of Opous, then the evidence for a federal assembly disappears. This is why I prefer the much wider term "League" which can refer to many more kinds of organisation. Now the organisation may well have been a Confederacy, but the inscription cannot be used to show it. The organisation may also have taken other forms; Elis, for example, seems to have ruled a number of dependent *poleis* through a *symmachia*.¹⁴⁵ Since we lack detailed evidence for the internal working and constitution of the organisation reflected in the inscription, it seems preferable to call it a "League".

Since it has now been demonstrated that the Hypoknemidian-Opountian Lokrians formed a political unit, we are left with the following possibilities which are worth considering: a) East Lokris was united into a single state (= the Hypoknemid-

143 Beck (1999) 59–61 argues that the members of the "Hundred Houses" cannot have been excluded from "The Opountian Thousand" which would mean that this assembly cannot have been the assembly of the city of Opous but must have been federal. But see Walter (1993) 132 who says that the "Adel der sog. 'Hundert Häuser' stellt ein Phantom dar, er existierte nicht."

144 Larsen (1968) xiv–xv. See further Beck (1997) 10–26.

145 See Nielsen (1997) 133–144. On Elis and its dependencies, see further Roy (1997).

ian League reflected in Meiggs-Lewis, *GHI* 20 and in the historians as the Opountian Lokrians) and *Epiknemidian* referred merely to a geographical part of that state, just like Azania was simply an area within Arkadia; b) East Lokris was split into two sub-*ethne*, the Epiknemidians and the Hypoknemidian-Opountians, of which the latter certainly formed a state while the organisation of the former is unknown; c) East Lokris was split into two sub-*ethne* of the Arkadian-Mainalian type, but these were politically united.

As we have already seen, Classical evidence on the Epiknemidians is as good as non-existent and, in any case, Hellanikos' *Deukalionia* seems to have been concerned only with mythological matters.¹⁴⁶ For what it is worth, Diod. 16.38.3 does not show the Epiknemidians acting in unity, though we can hardly argue *e silentio* from such a casual note that there was no unity. We can identify six communities of the Epiknemidians (Alponos, Knemis [a fortress], Naryka, Nikaia, Skarpheia, and Thronion); some of these are classified as *poleis* by Classical sources,¹⁴⁷ but apart from that the evidence is exiguous: the ethnic of Skarpheia is found twice in the fourth century, once in a grant of proxeny to one of its citizens,¹⁴⁸ and late in the same century the city struck bronze coins (*HN*² 337). Thronion struck coins already in the fifth century (*HN*² 337), the ethnic may be attested this early too¹⁴⁹ and it is certainly attested in the next century;¹⁵⁰ in 431 the city was captured by the Athenians to whom it had to give hostages.¹⁵¹ In 352 the city of Naryka was captured, pillaged and destroyed by the Phokians.¹⁵² This evidence is of no use in determining whether these communities were united among themselves, and merely indicates (what there is no reason to doubt) that they functioned as *poleis*. However, the late-fourth century coins mentioned above (105–106) do suggest that, at least in the late Classical period, the Epiknemidians formed a political organisation.

An alternative approach is to consider whether the Hypoknemidian League may have included the *poleis* of the Epiknemidians. This is a question to which no definitive answer can be given, but the evidence slightly favours the view that it did: It is clear from Herodotos' description of Alponos as "the first Lokrian *polis* as one comes from the Malians" that the Epiknemidian communities were thought of as belonging with the rest of East Lokris. It is thus conceivable that the coins inscribed with various abbreviations of ΑΟΚΡΩΝ and discussed above 100–107 embody a claim on the part of the Hypoknemidian League to all of East Lokris, though we cannot be sure that such a claim corresponded to organisational fact.

..

146 See Pearson (1939) 170–6.

147 Alponos: Hdt. 7.216; Knemis: Ps.-Skylax 61; Thronion: Eur. *Iph.Aul.* 264, Ps.-Skylax 61; the following are classified as *poleis* by later sources: Naryka (Diod. 16.38.5, r352); Skarpheia (*F.Delphes* III.4 38); Nikaia (Timosthenes *apud* Didymos *In Dem. comm.* [Pearson & Stephens] col. 11.33).

148 *CID* II 43.65; *Syll.*³ 270 (proxeny).

149 *SEG* 30 42.2 (ca. 450).

150 *CID* II 31.79, 32.37, 97.25.

151 Thuc. 2.26.2.

152 Diod. 16.38.3–5.

Herodotos does not make any distinctions between the East Lokrians whom he refers to simply as “Lokrians” or “Opountian Lokrians”.¹⁵³ It is clear that he considered these Lokrians a political unit,¹⁵⁴ and it is thus worth noting that he considers Alponos (situated in Epiknemidian territory) to be the first Lokrian *polis* after the Malians (Hdt. 7.216). This indicates that Herodotos considered the city to belong to the Lokrians = Opountian Lokrians, or, to put it differently, it indicates that the Hypoknemidian League comprised Epiknemidian territory and, on this line of reasoning, all of it.¹⁵⁵ Like Herodotos, Thucydides refers to the East Lokrians as “Lokrians” or “Opountian Lokrians”¹⁵⁶ without indicating any subdivisions and it is clear that he too considers these Lokrians to form a political unit.¹⁵⁷ Now, at 2.26 he relates an Athenian operation in East Lokris in 431: the Athenians took Thronion, in Epiknemidian territory, took hostages from the city, and then defeated τοὺς βοηθήσαντας Λοκρῶν in battle at Alope, which is in Opountian (= Hypoknemidian) territory: he thus treats the operation as being all against the same enemy which indicates that he thought of Epiknemidian territory as part of the area controlled by the Opountian Lokrians. In this connection it would have been interesting to know whether the Lokrian troops sent to relieve Thronion came up from the south and thus from the Hypoknemidians since this would strengthen the impression gained from this short note: it is quite possible that this was so – perhaps even probable, since Alope is south of Thronion – but it cannot be shown.

Finally, two fourth-century inscriptions from Delphi use the regional ethnic Λοκρός in a way which may, on one reading, possibly suggest that the Epiknemidians were included in the same political organisation as the Opountians (= the Hypoknemidian League): *CID* II 95.14–5 of 328/7 and *CID* II 97.24–5 of 327/6, accounts of the Delphic treasurers, list two men to whom money has been paid, as follows: Ἀγησίλας Αἰνησία Λοκρὸς Ὀπούντιος and Ἀγίας Ἀριστάρχου Λοκρὸς Θρονιεύς.

153 See Macan *ad* Hdt. 7.132: “Hdt. does not distinguish “Epiknemidian” from “Opuntian” Lokrians ... It appears, therefore, that where he speaks of Lokroi simply, he lumps the Opuntian and Epiknemidian Lokrians”. It may also be noted that at 12.10.3 Polybios counts *two* Lokrian *ethne* in central Greece; the passage is a critique of Timaios who in a certain passage had not specified whether he was referring to East or West Lokris; Polybios points out that the central Greek Lokrians were not settled in one place by stating that there were *two ethne* of the Lokrians on the mainland and the reference is obviously to the West and the East Lokrians. Had the Epiknemidians counted as an individual unit, Polybios would surely had taken the opportunity to score an extra point against Timaios by pointing out that there were *three* Lokrian *ethne* in Greece. The inference is that in the Hellenistic period the East Lokrians were thought of as single ethnic unit. Of course, the passage is useless for the reconstruction of Classical political history, except for the fact that it supports the observation drawn from Herodotos and Thucydides that the East Lokrians formed *one* and not *two* units.

154 See 7.132 (they gave earth and water to Xerxes); 7.203 (they serve *panstratiei* at Thermopylai); 8.1 (they provide eight *pentekonteroi* at Artemision); 9.31 (they fight at Plataiai).

155 Accordingly, Alponos served as a base for the Greeks during the Thermopylai campaign, see Hdt. 7.176.5, 229.1.

156 Thuc. 1.113.2, 2.9.2 (on which see *HCT*), 2.9.3, 2.26.2, 4.96.8, 5.32.2, 5.64.2, 8.3.2, 8.43.3 = simply Λοκροί; 1.108.3, 2.32.1, 3.89.3 = Λοκροὶ οἱ Ὀπούντιοι.

157 See 1.108.3 (they give hostages to the Athenians); 2.9.2–3 (they are allies of Sparta); 4.96.8 (they fight at Delion); 5.64.4 (they are allies of Sparta); 8.3.2 (they are allies of Sparta).

Opous,¹⁵⁸ of course, was situated in Hypoknemidian territory, whereas Thronion was in Epiknemidian territory. If the regional ethnic in these texts is intended as a political label referring to an East Lokrian political organisation (which is possible but not certain),¹⁵⁹ then, since there is no obvious attempt to make a distinction between the two men, the reference should be to the *same* organisation, which would mean to the organisation which I have been calling the Hypoknemidian League. We may thus tentatively conclude that the Hypoknemidian League comprised the Epiknemidian communities.

What is not clear, however, is whether the Epiknemidians while part of the Hypoknemidian League were united among themselves like the Arkadian Mainali-ans were while part of the Arkadian Confederacy; the only source to suggest such Epiknemidian unity is the late Classical coins but whether their evidence can be retrojected to, *e.g.*, the fifth century is uncertain. It may, however, be that, on another reading, the Delphic inscriptions *CID* II 95 & 97, listing a *Lokros Opountios* accompanied by a *Lokros Thronieus*, indirectly reflects the same political distinction between Epiknemidians and Hypoknemidians possibly attested by late fourth-century coins since Opous was Hypoknemidian while Thronion was Epiknemidian; still, that would not help us with the reconstruction of the political organisation of the fifth century.

IV. Conclusion

Clearly, these sources are not definite *proof* that the Hypoknemidian League comprised the Epiknemidian *poleis* since they are not particularly detailed and since we cannot know just how well-informed the historians were about internal East Lokrian matters or whether the Delphic stone-cutters aimed at political precision. But they *do* point in this general direction and since there is a complete lack of evidence to the contrary we may tentatively conclude that the Epiknemidian *poleis* were part of the Hypoknemidian League in the Classical period.¹⁶⁰

Of the possibilities out-lined above we may thus, on present evidence, rule out c), since it cannot be shown that the Epiknemidians formed a political unit on the Arkadian-Mainalian pattern before – possibly – the late fourth century; b) seems unlikely too, since the Hypoknemidian League seems, from the exiguous evidence we have, to have included the Epiknemidian *poleis*. I thus conclude that East Lokris was united into a single state, the one reflected in Herodotos and Thucydides as the Opountian Lokrians (= the Hypoknemidian League reflected in Meiggs-Lewis, *GHI* 20) and that *Epiknemidian* (if it was in use during all the Classical period, which is, as we saw, not completely certain) referred to a geographical part of that state (= a]) (with the proviso that it cannot entirely be ruled out that evidence will surface to show that the Epiknemidian *poleis* were in fact united at an early period in an organ-

158 For my interpretation of Ὀπούντιος in sources like this one, see above 99–102.

159 See Hansen (1996b) 187–90.

160 Beck (1999) 53, 62 (without specifically arguing the point) likewise assumes that East Lokris was *one* state in the Classical period.

isation resembling that of the Arkadian Mainalians as their late fourth-century coinage and the Delphic inscriptions on one reading suggest they may have been at that time). The East Lokrians' state was referred to as the *Opountian Lokrians* by historians because their leading city was Opous, the *metropolis* of all Lokrians. Opous held a hegemonial position in the East Lokrian state, but it is uncertain exactly what *kind* of state Opous headed and in precisely what way this city exercised its hegemony.

However, a final possibility should be excluded and that is that the East Lokrian united state reflected in Herodotos, Thucydides, and Meiggs-Lewis, *GHI*² 20, broke down into two political units in the later fourth century and in effect after the period under consideration here.

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THE CHALKIDIC PENINSULA AND ITS REGIONS

by

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In the following I shall show not only that the Chalkidic peninsula was clearly a part of Thrace before the time of Philip II and Alexander the Great, but also that the area was subdivided into a number of smaller regions, one of which was named Chalkidike. These issues have had some bearing on the way historians have described the area in general, and, in particular, on the question of which rôle (if any) the Chalkidians (from Chalkis in Euboea) played in the colonisation of the area.

Thrace or Macedon?

In modern textbooks descriptions of the Chalkidic peninsula are usually found in descriptions of Macedon.¹ That, however, reflects the historical situation after Philip II and Alexander the Great, when the Chalkidic peninsula became part of the Macedonian kingdom (see below). Before the mid-fourth century BC the Chalkidic peninsula was not a part of Macedon. The northernmost part of the peninsula, Mygdonia, was in Perdikkas' possession in 432 (Thuc. 1.58.2) – and that is probably also true of the narrow district in the north-west, Anthemous –, but the area south of Mygdonia, i.e. the Chalkidic peninsula proper, was not ruled by the Macedonian kings. Therefore, one would perhaps expect it to be treated at length in a book dealing with Thrace, but in Benjamin Isaac's study of *The Greek Settlements in Thrace until the Macedonian Conquest* (1986) there is no discussion of the Chalkidic peninsula. Isaac argues that even though the members of the Delian League located in the Chalkidic peninsula were included in the *Thrakios phoros* in the Athenian tribute lists, it simply shows that for the Athenians "the cities on the coast of Chalkidike and those east of the Strymon were ... the same district" (p. xiii). But, Isaac continues, for non-Athenian sources the hinterland of the Chalkidic peninsula was Macedon, and so, opines Isaac, the Chalkidic peninsula was more closely connected with Macedon than Thrace and it is therefore left out of his study.²

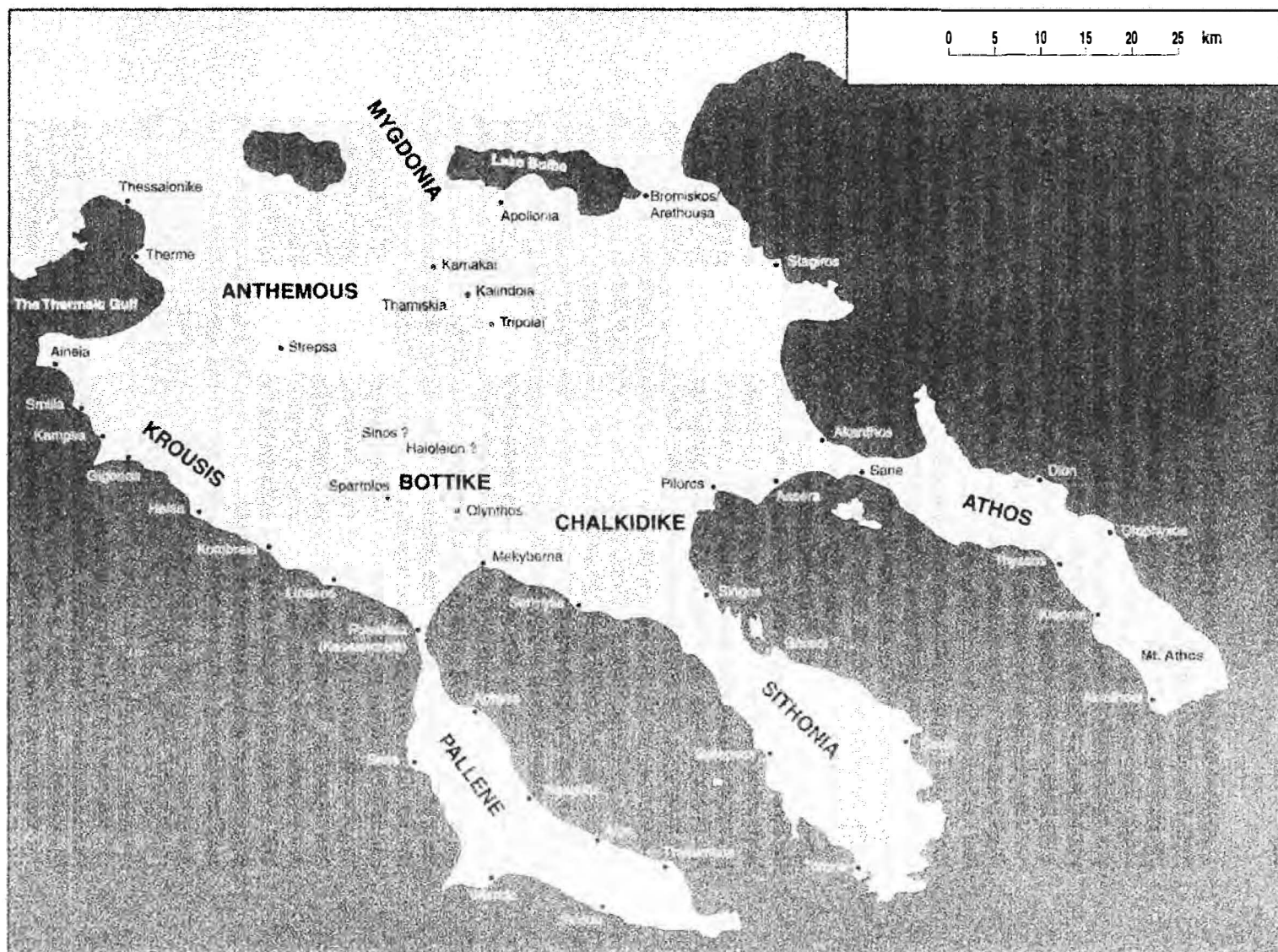
1 See e.g. N.G.L. Hammond and G.T. Griffiths, *A History of Macedonia* (1979) 365–79.

2 Unfortunately, there are not many non-Athenian sources, but we do have a few fragments from the works of Ephoros of Kyme, Hekataios of Miletos, and Hellanikos of Mytilene. In Harpokration we find the following entries: Τορώνη .. πόλις ἐν Θράκῃ, ὡς Ἐφορος (= [FGrHist 70] fr. 35) and Στρέψα .. πόλις ἐστὶ τῆς Θράκης ὡς Ἑλλάνικος ἐν β' Περσικῶν ὑποσημαίνει (= [FGrHist 687a] fr. 3), and in Steph.Byz.: Σμίλα, πόλις Θράκης. Ἐκαταῖος Εὐρώπῃ (= [FGrHist 1] fr. 148). It is impossible to discern whether Harpokration and Stephanos quote *verbatim*, but I see no reason to doubt that Ephoros, Hellanikos, and Hekataios all connected Torone, Strepsa, and Chalastra with Thrace, not Macedonia.

There is a slight possibility that Hekataios used ἡ χερρόνησος (τῆς Θράκης) about the Chalkidic peninsula, a name later used of the Gallipoli peninsula only.³ But the first full description of the Chalkidic peninsula is found in Herodotos (7.122–3), who knows the names of some very obscure little *poleis*, but who never uses a common name for the whole peninsula. Whenever Thucydides describes campaigns in the Chalkidic peninsula, he uses the rather vague τὰ ἐπὶ Θράκης (χωρία) which sometimes includes the area east of the Chalkidic peninsula, right until the Thracian Chersonese.⁴ That is sometimes translated “the Thraceward region”.⁵ Thucydides uses the expression τὰ ἐπὶ Θράκης thirteen times,⁶ and three times he talks about τὰ ἐπὶ Θράκης χωρία.⁷ Sometimes the expression covers the Chalkidic peninsula (or its coast) as when Kleon sails to τὰ ἐπὶ Θράκης χωρία and arrives at Skione and later at Torone.⁸ But at other times the expression τὰ ἐπὶ Θράκης clearly covers an area larger than the Chalkidic peninsula, as for instance when Thucydides lists the Athenian allies in the beginning of the Peloponnesian War: ... Καρία ἡ ἐπὶ θαλάσῃ, Δωριῆς Καρσί πρόσκοι, Ἰωνία, Ἑλλήσποντος, τὰ ἐπὶ Θράκης, νῆσοι κτλ. (Thuc. 2.9.4). We know that Athens had allies on the Thracian coast between the Chalkidic peninsula and the Hellespont and they must be included among the τὰ ἐπὶ Θράκης.⁹

We could also take into consideration the following entry in Stephanos Byzantios' *Ethnika*: Παλλήνη, πόλις Θράκης, ἀπὸ Παλλήνης τῆς μὲν θυγατρός, Κλείτου δὲ γυναικός, ὡς Ἠγήσιππος ἐν τοῖς Παλληνιακοῖς. That is of course pure speculation, but it shows that the fourth-century Hegesippos, author of a *Palleniaka*, clearly connected Pallene with Thrace.

- 3 Consider the following entries in Stephanos Byzantios' *Ethnika*: Αἰγαί .. τῆς Θρακησίων χερρονήσου (38.9–39.1; Aige was a town on Pallene), Αἰόλειον, τῆς Θράκης χερρονήσου πόλις (53.1; Aioloion was situated in the central part of the peninsula), Βέργη, πόλις Θράκης πρὸς τῇ Χερρονήσῳ (163.14; Berge was in Bisaltia, between the Chalkidic peninsula and Amphipolis), Ἡιών, πόλις ἐν χερρονήσῳ (298.22; the exact location of Eion is unknown. Possibly it was in the Chalkidic peninsula), Μηκύβερνα, πόλις Παλλήνης τῆς ἐν Θράκῃ χερρονήσου (450.5; Mekyberna was located a few km from Olynthos), Τράγιλος, πόλις μία τῶν ἐπὶ Θράκης πρὸς τῇ χερρονήσῳ καὶ Μακεδονίᾳ (630.11–12; Tragilos was in Bisaltia). It is evident that ἡ χερρόνησος (τῆς Θράκης) is a term Stephanos sometimes uses for the Chalkidic peninsula. In the entry Μηκύβερνα Stephanos give us his source, because after πόλις Παλλήνης τῆς ἐν Θράκῃ χερρονήσου follows Ἐκαταῖος Εὐρώπῃ. However, Hekataios is not the source for the information about Eion, because after Ἡιών, πόλις ἐν χερρονήσῳ follows ὡς Θουκυδίδης. Curiously, that is not what Thucydides says about Eion, no, he calls it ἡ ἐπὶ Θράκης Μενδαίων ἀπουκία (4.7). If these citations derive from Hekataios, it is possible that he used ἡ χερρόνησος (τῆς Θράκης) about the Chalkidic peninsula, but later that was used exclusively about the Thracian Chersonese at the Hellespont (Thuc. 8.62.3; Hdt. 4.143.1).
- 4 See also S. Casson, *Macedonia, Thrace and Illyria* (Groningen 1968) 37–39.
- 5 E.g. S. Hornblower, *A Commentary on Thucydides* 2 (Oxford 1996) 332. Niebuhr uses “Epithrake” a few times, B.G. Niebuhr, *Vorträge über alte Länder und Völkerkunde* (Berlin 1851) 177.
- 6 Thuc. 1.59.1, 1.60.3, 1.68.4, 2.9.4, 2.67.4, 3.92.4, 4.7, 4.78.1, 4.82, 4.104.4, 5.21.1, 5.80.2, 8.64.2.
- 7 Thuc. 2.29.4, 5.2.1, 5.12.1.
- 8 Thuc. 5.2.1. Other instances where “the Chalkidic peninsula” is certainly or probably referred to are: 1.59.1, 1.60.3, 1.68.4, 2.29.4, 2.67.4, 4.7, 4.78.1, 4.82, 5.2.1, 5.12.1, 5.80.2.
- 9 Other instances where τὰ ἐπὶ Θράκης certainly or probably refers to the coast of Thrace to the Hellespont, including the Chalkidic peninsula are: Thuc. 3.92.4, 4.104.4, 5.21.1, 8.64.2.



Chalkidic Peninsula

Thus, the Greek settlements along the coast of Thrace, from the Thermaic Gulf (i.e. from Macedon) to the Thracian Chersonese, are all included in the broad term τὰ ἐπὶ Θράκης (χωρία). The reason that we can be practically certain that Thucydides did not know a common name for the Chalkidic peninsula is that he tells us (4.104.4) that he himself was one of the *strategoi* τῶν ἐπὶ Θράκης in 424 and that he was present both at Thasos and at Amphipolis, and if he had known a more precise term, he would certainly have used it. If *he* did not know one, who did?¹⁰

The exact same terminology is used by Xenophon in the *Hellenika*. At 5.2.12 Olynthos is called the largest *polis* among τῶν ἐπὶ Θράκης, and at 5.2.24 we are told that the Spartan Eudamidas goes εἰς τὰ ἐπὶ Θράκης χωρία and wins over Poteidaia. Finally, at 2.2.5 Eteonikos is sent to τὰ ἐπὶ Θράκης χωρία without further specification. The terminology is used by Isokrates as well.¹¹ Likewise, the Chalkidians are called Χαλκιδῆς οἱ ἐπὶ Θράκης, at least in Athenian sources, to distinguish them from the Chalkidians from Chalkis.¹²

But what does it mean that this area was ἐπὶ Θράκης? Ἐπὶ can be translated either as “by, at” or “in”. When Herodotos talks about the bay τὸν ἐπὶ Ποσειδίου the meaning of ἐπὶ is of course “by”, but οἱ ἐπὶ Θράκης σύμμαχοι could reasonably be translated as “the allies *in* Thrace” (see LSJ s.v. ἐπὶ I.1). The most common way to explain that something is situated “in X” is to use a genitive, e.g. ἐξ Ἀρνῶν τῆς Χαλκιδικῆς (“from Arnai *in* [or *of*] Chalkidike”, Thuc. 4.103.1) and ἐν Μεθυδρίῳ τῆς Ἀρκαδίας (“Methydria *in* Arkadia”, Thuc. 5.58.2). In the literary sources there are several examples of settlements described as being τῆς Θράκης, e.g. Oisyme (Ephor. [*FrGrHist* 70] fr. 37), Berge (Com.Ad. [Austin, *FCGPR*] fr. 343.55), Ainos (Ephor. [*FrGrHist* 70] fr. 39), but they all occur in fragments deriving from Harpokration or Stephanos Byzantios, and it is impossible to discern whether τῆς Θράκης is a direct quotation or a paraphrase. But what about ἐν? Herodotos twice refers to Myrkinos being ἐν Θρηίκῃ, but what is perhaps noteworthy is that Myrkinos was not a Greek, but an Edonian (i.e. Thracian) town. There is a possibility that by using ἐπὶ the Greeks could refer to the Greek settlements on the coast, i.e. “Hellas in Thrace” – just the meaning Herodotos conveys by talking about ὅσοι τῆς Θρηίκῆς τὴν παραλίην νέμονται, “those who inhabit the coast of Thrace” (7.185.1). A parallel could be “Hellas in Asia”, as when Isokrates talks about ἅπαντας [i.e. Ἕλληνας] τοὺς ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀσίας (12.103). The use of ἐν, however, would indicate that the place was situated in Thrace proper (inland) and then perhaps not even Greek, cf. Theopompus who talks about Kotys and the other kings who live ἐν Θράκῃ ([*FrGrHist* 115] fr. 31) and Iphikrates who lived ἐν Θράκῃ ([*FrGrHist* 115] fr. 105).¹³ But no matter how exactly we should interpret ἐπὶ Θράκης it does not change the fact that the Chalkidic peninsula was seen as connected to Thrace and not Macedonia.

10 See also E. Kuhn, *Über die Entstehung der Städte der Alten* (Leipzig 1878) 284, 297–8.

11 Isoc. 7.9: probably referring to the Chalkidic peninsula and Amphipolis; Isoc. 15.108: referring to Poteidaia and Torone.

12 Thuc. 1.57.5, 2.79.1; Arist. *Pol.* 1274b24.

13 But as often things are not always clear cut: in the Athenian tribute lists we find IG I³ 259.VI.10: Νεάπολις [ἐ]ν [Θ]ράκει. Neapolis was a Greek town situated on the coast of Thrace (in the Thasian *peraiia*), see B. Isaac, *The Greek Settlements in Thrace until the Macedonian Conquest* (Leiden 1986) 66ff.

Later writers place the *poleis* of the Chalkidic peninsula in Thrace or Macedon, depending on which sources they use or which period they deal with. Thus, Diodoros talks about Χαλκιδεῖς οἱ πρὸς τῇ Θράκῃ (14.82) and Athenaios says that Theopompos wrote about Χαλκιδεῖς οἱ ἐν Θράκῃ (10.442e), but Ps.-Skylax, who probably edited his *Periplus* in the 330s, subsumes all the settlements of the Chalkidic peninsula under the heading *Makedonia* (66), and Strabo informs us that the river Nestos constituted the border between Macedon and Thrace after Philip and Alexander (7 fr. 33). Elsewhere he says that Macedon stretches all the way to the river Strymon, although, he explains “some” say that it stretches all the way to the river Nestos (7.7.4).

If we study the epigraphical evidence, the same pattern can be observed: in the Athenian tribute quota lists the communities of the Chalkidic peninsula are recorded in the ἐπὶ Θράκης φόρος until 441/0. In the years 440/39 and 439/8 they are recorded in the ἀπὸ Θράκης φόρος, and finally, from 438/7 all the communities of the Chalkidic peninsula are recorded in the Θράκιος φόρος.¹⁴ Likewise, in the list of allies appended to the so-called Charter of the Second Athenian Naval League the Chalkidians are called [Χαλκι]δῆς ἀπὸ [Θράκης] (*IG* II² 43B.5–6, admittedly restored). Two proxeny decrees are known from Arethousa in the north-eastern part of the peninsula. The first, which is dated ca. 350, grants proxeny to Θεωδώρω[ι]δίκου Ἀ[ρ]εθουσίων[ι ἀπὸ Θρ]άκης (*Syll.*³ 268G), whereas the other, dated to ca. 300, grants proxeny to Πουλυδάμαντι [Ἀν]ταίου Ἐρεθουσίων[ι] Μακεδόνι. A mid-fourth century inscription (*SEG* 38641) – probably a grave stone – found a short distance north of Olynthos, attests to the existence of a Λεωνίδας Δέρδας and another man, whose name is not preserved, both Μακεδόνες. Derdas is a well-known Macedonian name – cf. Derdas’ better-known namesake, Derdas of Elimia (*Xen. Hell.* 5.2.38) – and it has been assumed that the presence of these Macedonians are not just a coincidence, but proves that Macedonians had settled the area at this time.¹⁵ Other inscriptions show that land plots were given to Macedonians near Sermylia, Olynthos, Strepsa (all *SEG* 38619, 285/4), Sinos and Spartolos (both *Syll.*³ 332, 306–297), and Kalindoia, *Thamiskos, Kamakai, and Tripoiai (all *SEG* 36 626, ca. 323).

The Regions of the Chalkidic Peninsula

Thus, the Chalkidic peninsula did not have a common name in antiquity; it was actually included in the broad τὰ ἐπὶ Θράκῃ, – only later Macedonia – but it is well attested that this larger area was divided into smaller regions. Let us return to Herodotos, who gives a relatively detailed description of the peninsula. In his description we find the following districts within the Chalkidic peninsula: the isthmus of *Athos* (Ἄθως) with a number of *poleis* (7.22.3). Between Athos and the next peninsula

14 ἐπὶ Θράκης φόρος: *IG* I³ 269–271; ἀπὸ Θράκης φόρος: *IG* I³ 272–273; Θράκιος φόρος: *IG* I³ 274 onwards. See H.B. Mattingly, “The Tribute Districts of the Athenian Empire”, *Historia* 33 (1984) 498–9.

15 M.B. Hatzopoulos, *Macedonian Institutions under the Kings*, vol. 1 (Athens 1996) 197–8.

there is a anonymous bay on which stand four *poleis* (7.122.1). Then comes *chore Sithonie* (χώρη Σιθωνίη) in which we also find some *poleis* (7.122.1). After that there is *Pallene* (Παλλήνη), formerly called *Phlegre* (Φλέγρη), and on Pallene there were eight *poleis* (7.123.1). The western coast of the Chalkidic peninsula was for Herodotos *chore Krossaie* (χώρη Κροσσαίη) and contained no less than seven *poleis* (7.123.2). After the *polis* of Aineia comes the *Thermaic Gulf* (Θερμαῖος κόλπος). In the interior (the northern part of the peninsula) is the region *ge Mygdonie* (γῆ Μυγδονίη) (7.123.3). Herodotos does not give a name for the eastern coast or for the interior of the Chalkidic peninsula. But he does mention the Chalkidians at 8.127: in 479 the Persians besieged Poteidaia and as they feared that the inhabitants of Olynthos, which was Bottiaian at that time, would revolt, they took the town, killed the population and gave the town to Kritoboulos of Torone and to τὸ Χαλκιδικὸν γένος, and in this way, Herodotos says, οἱ Χαλκιδῆες got possession of Olynthos. He implies that Torone belonged to the Chalkidians, because he says that Olynthos was handed over to the Chalkidians and Kritoboulos of Torone. We would not have been surprised to find the statement “to the Boiotians and NN from Thebes”, or “to the Bottiaians and NN from Spartolos” – Kritoboulos just happened to be a representative of the Chalkidians. So in all probability Herodotos regards Torone as a Chalkidian town.

Thucydides' view of the geography of the Chalkidic peninsula is not much different. He never actually names the middle prong (Sithonia), but he adds two more names of regions, namely Bottike (Βοττική) and Chalkidike (Χαλκιδική). And where were those two regions? Bottike was evidently the region inhabited by the Bottiaians, who are mentioned by Herodotos at 7.185.2 and 8.127, and Chalkidike the region inhabited by the Chalkidians, also mentioned by Herodotos (*ibidem*). It appears from Thuc. 1.65.2 and 2.101.5 that Bottike and Chalkidike were two separate regions, and from 2.99.3 that the Bottiaians and the Chalkidians were neighbours. From circumstantial evidence it can be concluded that Bottike was the western interior part of the Chalkidic peninsula,¹⁶ and that Chalkidike was the middle interior part of the peninsula. Was Sithonia also a part of Chalkidike? As mentioned above it is likely that Herodotos thought that at least Torone belonged to the Chalkidians. In a much-discussed passage Thucydides calls Torone “Chalkidian” (4.110.1), and a little later he mentions that Lekythos, the promontory in front of Torone, belonged to the Chalkidians (4.114). Nevertheless, in the very same passages there are signs of tension between the Chalkidians and the Toronaian, and Thucydides seems to make a distinction between the Chalkidians and the Toronaian at 5.3.4.¹⁷ But what about the settlements between Olynthos and Torone? Are there any indications that they were also “Chalkidian”?¹⁸ The communities in question are Sarte, Singos, Sermylia, and possibly Galaioi. As for Singos and Galaioi, they were both members of the Delian League. Singos is recorded regularly in the tribute lists from

16 P. Flensted-Jensen, “The Bottiaians and Their *Poleis*”, *Historia Einzelschriften* 95 (Stuttgart 1995) 108.

17 S. Hornblower, “Thucydides and ‘Chalkidic’ Torone (IV.110.1)”, *OJA* 16, no. 2, 181.

18 On the different interpretations of “Chalkidian”, see Hornblower, *supra* n. 17, 177–86.

454/3, and the Galaioi are recorded for the first time in the extant lists from 436/5. However, they both disappear from the lists after 433/2 (and they are absent from the complete panels of 432/1 and 430/29), and that is usually taken as a sign that they participated in the Chalkidian/Bottiaian/Poteidaian revolt in 432, mentioned by Thucydides at 1.58. Sarte, however, seems to have been a loyal member of the Delian League; it is registered in the lists several times in the lists after 432. That could indicate either that it was not Chalkidian, or, if it was, that it chose not to act in accordance with its fellow Chalkidian towns. As for Sermylia, since it is not recorded in the tribute lists after 433/2, it could be assumed that it took part in the revolt mentioned by Thucydides. However, at 1.65.2 Thucydides says that the Korinthian Aristeus killed many Sermyliaians near their *polis* in 432 (*after* the revolt), and that is often taken as an indication that Sermylia must have been hostile to the Chalkidians, since Aristeus was on the Chalkidians' side.¹⁹ But it could also mean that some Sermyliaians were on the Athenian side and others on the Chalkidian, as in the case of Mende (Thuc. 4.123.2). Anyway, the Chalkidians must have got control of Sermylia shortly after, because it does not appear in the complete panels of the tribute lists of 432/1 and 430/29. It is very difficult say whether these towns were Chalkidian or not, but it is not impossible that Chalkidike covered all or most of Sithonia by the fifth century.²⁰

That Thucydides in no way means "all of the Chalkidic peninsula" when he uses the name Chalkidike, becomes clear from 2.70.4: after the long siege of Poteidaia 432–429, the Poteidaians capitulated and agreed to leave their *polis*. Then, Thucydides says, οἱ μὲν ὑπόσπονδοι ἐξῆλθον ἐς τε τὴν Χαλκιδικὴν ("those subject to the treaty went to Chalkidike"). If "Chalkidike" was the name of the whole peninsula, such a statement would make no sense.²¹ Thucydides mentions ἡ Χαλκιδικὴ four more times (1.65.2, 2.101.5, 4.79.1, 4.103.1), but there is no reason to believe that it means "the Chalkidic peninsula" in those instances either.²²

Is "Chalkidike" ever used about the whole peninsula? Before we examine the sources, we must bear in mind that some confusion is caused by the fact that the Chalkidian Federation expanded considerably during the first 20 years of the fourth century,²³ and that the number of towns in their possession increased. But even in its heyday in the 380s the Chalkidian Federation never controlled all of the Chalkidic peninsula. Among the places that stood aloof from the Federation were all the towns of Pallene (except Poteidaia), Apollonia in the north, and Akanthos in the east.²⁴

Let us have a look at the fourth-century writers: interestingly, there are only few places that are said to be located ἐν τῇ Χαλκιδικῇ. Aristotle mentions two places that were located in Chalkidike, namely the river Psychros in the territory of Assera

19 J.A.O. Larsen, *Greek Federal States* (Oxford 1968) 63.

20 It may be worth mentioning that apart from Herodotos Stephanos Byzantios is actually the only author to mention the name Sithonia (at 566.14–15).

21 Already pointed out at length by E. Harrison, "Chalkidike" *CQ* 6 (1912), esp. 95–100.

22 See Harrison, *supra* n. 21, 96.

23 H. Beck, *Polis und Koinon. Untersuchungen zur Geschichte und Struktur der griechischen Bundesstaaten im 4. Jahrhundert v. Chr.*, *Historia Einzelschriften* 114 (Stuttgart 1997).

24 J.A.O. Larsen, *Greek Federal States* (Oxford 1968) 75.

(HA 519a; Assera was a town located on the bay of Singos between Athos and Sithonia) and Kantharolethron, a place near Olynthos (*Mir.Ausc.* 842a). As it happens, both of these places lay in the part of the peninsula which must have been inhabited by the Chalkidians even at an early stage. Demosthenes says that the Olynthians lost τὰς πόλεις ἀπάσας .. τὰς ἐν τῇ Χαλκιδικῇ, “all the *poleis* in Chalkidike” (19.266). Demosthenes does not name the towns he is talking about, but it is unlikely that he is talking about all of the Chalkidic peninsula (the Olynthians/Chalkidians did not lose Akanthos, for instance, since they were not in possession of it). Theophrastos describes a plant (*kyamos*, “Egyptian bean”) which could grow in a small lake περὶ Τορώνην τῆς Χαλκιδικῆς (*Hist. pl.* 4.8.8). It is very likely that Torone was situated in an area not originally called Chalkidike (Herodotos calls it Sithonia), but it is highly plausible that, in the fourth century, Sithonia was included in the region of Chalkidike.

Let us now, for the sake of completion, have a look at some later authors, viz. Strabo, Pliny, Ptolemaios, and Stephanos of Byzantion:

Strabo’s description of the geography of the North has come down to us, alas, only as fragments (Book 7). Even then, Strabo seems to have known some names which are not mentioned by Herodotos and Thucydides: for instance, the bay between the peninsulas of Pallene and Sithonia is called ὁ Τορωνᾶιος κόλπος (7 fr. 29), and that between Sithonia and Athos ὁ Σιγγιτικὸς κόλπος (7 fr. 31). In addition to that, he mentions most of the districts known from Herodotos and Thucydides, for example Krousis (7 fr. 21), Pallene (7 fr. 25, 27), and Athos (7 fr. 33), but he does not seem to have used a common name for the peninsula, or the name “Chalkidike” for that matter.

In his description of *Macedonia* at 4.10, Pliny simply lists the Thermaic Gulf, Pallene and its towns, the towns of Sithonia, Athos and its towns, and various tribes, until he reaches the river Strymon (*Struma*), which he says constituted the border between Macedon and Thrace. Apparently Pliny did not know a common name for the peninsula.

In Ptolemaios, we find an altogether different division of the area. In the chapter on Macedon (3.12) he locates Arethousa, Stagiros and Thessalonike in “Amphaxitis” (sections 10 and 14; also mentioned by Strabo 7 fr. 23), Akanthos, Singos and Athos (and others) in “Chalkidike” (section 11), Torone in “Paraxia” (section 12), and Kassandreia in “Pallene”.²⁵ Here we find the name of a region “Chalkidike”, but it still does not cover the whole peninsula.-

Finally, Stephanos of Byzantion says that Kapsa was a πόλις Χαλκιδικῆς χώρας (370.18). It is evident that Stephanos is paraphrasing Herodotos,²⁶ who, however,

25 On these divisions, see Hatzopoulos, *supra* n. 15, 232–7.

26 Compare Stephanos: Κάψα, πόλις Χαλκιδικῆς χώρας κατὰ Παλλήνην, ὁμορουσα τῷ Θερμαίῳ κόλπῳ. ὁ πολίτης Καψαῖος (“Kapsa, a *polis* in the Chalkidian country by Pallene, bordering on the Thermaic Gulf”) with Herodotos 7.123.2: παραλαμβάνων στρατιὴν καὶ ἐκ τῶν προσεχέων πόλιων τῇ Παλλήνῃ, ὁμορουσέων δὲ τῷ Θερμαίῳ κόλπῳ, τῇσι οὐνόματά ἐστι τάδε, ... Κάψα .. (“also receiving army from the *poleis* near Pallene, bordering on the Thermaic Gulf. They are called .. Kampsä ..”). ἐκ τῶν προσεχέων πόλιων τῇ Παλλήνῃ has become κατὰ Παλλήνην, and ὁμορουσέων is taken over directly.

locates the town in Krousis. Χαλκιδικῆς χώρας, then, is perhaps an explanatory note added by Stephanos, and it may reflect that the western coast of the peninsula was in his time located in “Chalkidike”, or, more plausibly, Stephanos knew that the Chalkidians possessed a great part of the peninsula, including the western coast, in a certain period. Thus there is reason to believe that down to the eve of the Hellenistic period there was certainly a region called “Chalkidike”, but “Chalkidike” was not the name of the entire Chalkidic peninsula. Thus, Niebuhr is right when he notes that “Nur uneigentlich spricht man von einem Lande Chalkidike, der Ausdruck ist, wo er vorkommt, uncorrect und gehört der späteren Zeit an”.²⁷

Looking at the modern maps, we notice that the first map on which “Chalcidique” seems to be the name of the whole peninsula, is Barbié du Bocage’s map from 1791.²⁸ But the other toponyms on the map are clearly ancient (Olynthe, Stagire, Ænia etc.), which shows that we have to do with a historical map, so we cannot be sure that “Chalkidike” was the name of the peninsula in 1791. Lapie’s map from 1838,²⁹ however, has the modern toponyms, but the name of the peninsula is now “Salonique”, and on M.A. Baudrand’s map from 1716 the name of the peninsula is “Le Jamboli”.³⁰ Some maps (e.g. J. Lauremberg’s map from 1700,³¹) have “Chalcidica” as the name of eastern part of the peninsula, but since the other districts on these maps are named “Amphaxitis” and “Paraxia”, the names are evidently derived from Ptolemaios.³²

Many 19th-century travellers and scholars seem to have been aware of the fact that “Chalkidike” covered a small part of the peninsula only,³³ although some use “Chalkidike” of the whole peninsula,³⁴ witness Leake, who travelled in northern Greece in the early 19th century and who states that “Although it has generally been found convenient to apply the name *Chalcidice* to the whole of the great peninsula, .. the original Chalcidice did not comprehend Crusæa” etc.³⁵ His remarks shows that “Chalkidike” used of the whole peninsula was common by the early 19th century.

Dr. Lars Nørgaard of the Institute of Balkan Studies has suggested to me that the name “Chalkidike” for the whole peninsula was consolidated when Greece was divided into nomes (νομοί). The division started in 1833, in 1881 Thessaly was included, and in 1912 Thessaloniki and the rest of Macedonia. The nome Chalkidiki

27 Niebuhr, *supra* n. 5, 228.

28 V. Sphyroeras, A. Avramea, and S. Asdrahas, *Maps and Map-Makers of the Aegean* (Athens 1985) 200–201, table 146.

29 Sphyroeras *et alii* (*supra* n. 28), table 162.

30 Sphyroeras *et alii* (*supra* n. 28), table 129. Also found on J. Gastaldi’s map from ca. 1575, table 57.

31 Sphyroeras *et alii* (*supra* n. 28), table 76.

32 The same division is found in three maps shown in C.G. Zacharakis, *A Catalogue of Printed Maps of Greece and Greek Regions 1477–1800, Map Collectors’ Circle* vol. 11, no. 102 (London 1974). The three maps are A. Ortelius’ map from 1570 (no. 481), F. Salamanca’s from 1575 (no. 567), and M.V. Coronelli’s from 232.

33 Niebuhr, *supra* n. 5, 228, and H. Kiepert, *Lehrbuch der alten Geographie* (Berlin 1878) 317–17.

34 E. Curtius, *Griechische Geschichte* (Berlin 1857) 350–51; and M.E. Cousinéry, *Voyage dans la Macédoine* (Paris 1931).

35 W.M. Leake, *Travels in Northern Greece* (London 1835) vol. 4, 454.

covers all of the Chalkidic peninsula, except the north-western part (Thessaloniki and environs), and a map can be seen in *Μεγάλη Ελληνική Εγκυκλοπαίδεια* vol. 24, s.v.

On the basis of that, perhaps limited, evidence I will assert that the use of the name "Chalkidike" for the whole peninsula is a modern convention. Thus, when talking about the whole peninsula in the Archaic and Classical periods, we should try to avoid "Chalkidike". I would urge the use of either "the Chalkidic peninsula", or a transcription of the modern Greek: *Khalkidikí*, and reserve "Chalkidike" (or the Latinised version "Chalcidice") for the central area of the peninsula.³⁶

Thus, the following development can be observed: in antiquity "Chalkidike" was never used of the whole peninsula, but only of the central part of the peninsula, probably including Sithonia. 19th-century travellers and geographers often used "Chalcidice" to denote the whole peninsula, perhaps more out of convenience than anything else, but it was not until the 20th century, when most of the peninsula constituted the nome *Khalkidikí*, that the ancient meaning of "Chalkidike" sank into oblivion.

All this is important for two reasons:

1) usually the Chalkidic peninsula is thought of as one region in antiquity, when it should actually be seen more as an area like the Peloponnese, which – apart from the fact that it *did* have one common name – was made up by a number of regions which differed enormously in population, political organisation etc. The Chalkidic peninsula is not nearly as well known from the sources as the Peloponnese (and also, of course, much smaller), but three types of region can be distinguished: 1) "natural" subdivisions (the three peninsulas Pallene, Sithonia, and Athos), 2) areas inhabited by an *ethnos* (Bottike and Chalkidike), 3) areas or districts which were under Macedonian domination (Mygdonia and Anthemous), all of them containing a number of *poleis*.

2) The fact that the entire peninsula was *not* called "Chalkidike" has some bearing on the rather vexed question of the colonisation of the peninsula. That is an old controversy which started in 1912 when E. Harrison suggested, mainly on the basis of written sources, that the Chalkidians in Thrace had nothing to do with the Chalkidians from Chalkis.³⁷ Michael Zahrnt supported Harrison,³⁸ and recently J.K. Papadopoulos, who has excavated Torone, has argued, on the basis of the archaeological evidence, that he finds it unlikely that Euboians played any important role in the foundation of Torone.³⁹ Here I will abstain from taking any position in the question, but I will point out that the nomenclature is of some relevance for this question. From modern handbooks it appears that 1) the Chalkidic peninsula is among the areas which were colonised during the eighth and seventh centuries,⁴⁰ 2) it was

36 Also stressed by M. Zahrnt, *Olynth und die Chalkidier* (München 1971) 4, who distinguishes between "Chalkidike" and "der Chalkidische Halbinsel."

37 Harrison, *supra* n. 21, 165–178.

38 Zahrnt, *supra* n. 36, 12–27.

39 J.K. Papadopoulos, "Euboians in Macedonia? A Closer Look", *OJA* 15, no. 2, 151–181.

40 A.J. Graham, "IV. The North Coast of the Aegean", in *CAH²* III, Pt. 3 (Cambridge 1982), 113–118.

colonised mainly from four places: Korinth, Andros, Eretria, and Chalkis. Chalkis is often regarded as the chief coloniser in this area, and one argument that is often used to show the prominence of the Chalkidians is the assumption that "Chalcis was the most active colonizer here [i.e. on the northern shores of the Aegean], and the promontory Chalcidice, projecting south into the Aegean like a grotesque three-fingered hand, takes its name from her".⁴¹ But as I have shown, the peninsula was never called "Chalkidike" in antiquity, so this cannot be used as an argument to show the importance of Chalkidian colonisation of the area.

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41 J. Boardman, *The Greeks Overseas* (London 1980) 229.

XENOPHON'S USE OF THE WORD *POLIS* IN THE *ANABASIS*

by

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Introduction

The word *polis* is not very frequent in Xenophon's *Anabasis*: it occurs in 108 passages only,¹ whereas, by contrast, it is attested 489 times in the *Hellenika*.² On the other hand, the word *kome* is extremely common in the *Anabasis* which has 87 occurrences while the *Hellenika* has merely 10 instances.³ The *Anabasis* is, in fact, the only Classical text in which *kome* is at all commonly used. The explanation is probably simple: while the *Hellenika* deals with Greek politics, large parts of the *Anabasis* concern non-Greek regions and populations in which context the use of the word *kome* is hardly surprising.⁴ Some Greek communities are, however, referred to in the *Anabasis* and thus this short study will treat Greek and non-Greek site-classifications separately.

The *Anabasis* uses *polis* exclusively in the senses of "town" or "political community = city-state",⁵ and there is only one passage in which the principal meaning of the word might be *akropolis* (7.1.27).⁶ As always, it is often difficult to distinguish between the sense of "town" and the sense of "city-state": ὁπόσας εἶχε φυλακὰς ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι παρήγγειλε τοῖς φρουράρχοις ἐκάστοις λαμβάνειν ἄνδρας Πελοποννησίου ὅτι πλείστους καὶ βελτίστους ὡς ἐπιβουλευόντος Τισσαφέρωνος ταῖς πόλεσι (1.1.6); here the principal meaning is probably "city-state" but at least in the first instance the sense of "town" is present as well; or at 6.4.17 where it is not possible to decide whether the sense of "town" or the sense of "city-state" is the principal one (if a principal meaning is indeed intended): βουλομένων τινῶν κατοικίσαι πόλιν.⁷

A fine example of *polis* in the political sense is found at 3.2.13: ὧν ἔστι μὲν τεκμήρια ὁρᾶν τὰ τρόπαια, μέγιστον δὲ μαρτύριον ἡ ἐλευθερία τῶν πόλεων ἐν

- 1 At 7.4.24 (Perinthos) *polis* is probably an intrusive gloss. The present investigation has been conducted on the basis of Marchant's edition.
- 2 For Xenophon's use of *polis* in the *Hellenika*, see Nielsen in *CPCPapers* 2 (1995) 83–102.
- 3 For the rarity of the word *kome* in Classical texts, see Hansen in *CPCPapers* 2 (1995) 51.
- 4 See Hansen in *CPCPapers* 2 (1995) 78–80.
- 5 For the different meanings of *polis*, see Hansen in *CPCActs* 1 (1993) 9–12, in *CPCActs* 3 (1996) 7–72, in *CPCPapers* 4 (1997) 9–15 and in *CPCActs* 5 (1998) 17–34.
- 6 The word ἀκρόπολις is found at 1.2.1 (cities of Asia Minor); 1.2.8 (non-Greek Kelainai); 1.2.9 (non-Greek Kelainai); 1.6.6 (non-Greek Sardes); 7.1.20 (Byzantion); 7.1.21 (Byzantion). For *polis* in the sense of *akropolis*, see Hansen in *CPCActs* 3 (1996) 34–6 and *CPCActs* 5 (1998) 31.
- 7 See on this passage note 24 below.

αἷς ὑμεῖς ἐγένεσθε καὶ ἐτράφητε, or at 5.1.14: τὰς δὲ πόλεις ἐκούσας ἐπεισεν ὁδοποιεῖν. In the urban sense *polis* occurs at, e.g., 4.8.22: καὶ ἦλθον ἐπὶ θάλατταν εἰς Τραπεζοῦντα πόλιν Ἑλληνίδα οἰκουμένην ἐν τῷ Εὐξείνῳ Πόντῳ, or at 5.5.11: νῦν δὲ ἀκούομεν ὑμᾶς εἰς τε τὴν πόλιν βίᾳ παρελθλυθότας.

Greek Site-Classifications

Polis may be used about the communities of the Greek world in general, as at 3.1.13 (quoted above), or about geographical groups of Greek *poleis* as at 1.1.9: αἱ Ἑλλησποντιακαὶ πόλεις, without any names given, or about ethnically defined groups of Greek *poleis* as at 1.1.6: αἱ Ἰωνικαὶ πόλεις, where Miletos is singled out for specific mention, or, finally, about named or at least identifiable individual communities. An example of a named individual community classified as a *polis* is, e.g., Kerasous: καὶ ἀφικνοῦνται πορευόμενοι εἰς Κερασσοῦντα τριταῖοι πόλιν Ἑλληνίδα (5.3.2). An example of an identifiable, though not specifically named community classified as a *polis* is Dardanos: at 5.4.21 Timasion is described by the ethnic Δαρδανεύς; at 5.6.22–23 he makes a speech where he states: ὑπάρξει ὑμῖν ἢ ἐμὴ πόλις. Thus, Dardanos is described as a *polis*. Other examples are found at 2.6.2 (Sparta) and 3.1.5 (Athens). Adding up named and identifiable communities a mere 11 Greek communities are classified as *poleis* and this even means accepting *polis* at 7.6.24 where it was probably not in the original text. Eight of these 11 *poleis* are described as *poleis* in the urban sense:

Athens (6.1.28; 7.1.27).

Byzantion (7.1.17, 18, 19, 21, 25, 31).

Herakleia (6.2.1, 6.2.18).

Kerasous (5.3.2).

Kotyora (5.5.3, 11).

[Perinthos (7.6.24): *polis* probably an intrusive gloss].

Sinope (5.5.23, 24).

Trapezous (4.8.22; [5.1.1], 5.1.14)

Of these eight, six are described as *poleis* in the political sense in other passages of the *Anabasis*:

Athens (3.1.5; 6.1.20; 7.1.19).

Byzantion (7.1.27).

Herakleia (5.6.21; 6.2.5, 6).

Kotyora (5.5.7).

Sinope (5.5.8, 11, 6.21)

Trapezous (5.5.15).

We are thus left with three communities, Dardanos (5.6.23), Miletos (1.1.6–7, 9.9), and Sparta (2.6.2), which are described as *poleis* in the political sense only, and with two: Kerasous and Perinthos, which are described as *poleis* in the urban sense only. But both are attested as *poleis* in the political sense in other sources.

Perinthos is described as a *polis* by Herodotos at 6.33.1, was a member of the Delian League (*IG* I³ 259.VI.15), of the Second Athenian Naval League (*IG* II² 43.84), and in the fourth century the city struck coins (see Martin in *CPCActs* 2 [1995] 276 with n. 83); as early as ca. 580–570 the city-ethnic is found in the external individual use (*SEG* 12 391).⁸ It may also be noted that the *Anabasis* itself testifies to the existence of Perinthian cavalry (7.2.8).

Kerasous is classified as a *polis* at Diod. 14.30.5, but the final source or sources of this late account of Kyros' *anabasis* have not yet been identified with certainty,⁹ and there are no contemporary sources. However, even if *Kerasous* is not actually called a *polis* in the political sense in the *Anabasis*, the text makes it highly likely that it was indeed one: the plural of the ethnic is used in the ordinary way to refer to the city at 5.5.10, 5.7.13, 20, 22, 24, and 31.¹⁰ Furthermore, the city was a Sinopian colony (5.3.2), just like Trapezous (4.8.22) and Kotyora (5.5.3) both of which are described as *poleis* in the political sense. Finally, both Trapezous and Kotyora paid tribute to Sinope, and so did *Kerasous* (5.5.10). It is thus a reasonable assumption that *Kerasous* was a *polis* in the political sense, though, like Trapezous and Kotyora, it must have been a *dependent polis*, namely a colony dependent on its *metropolis* (for which type of dependent *polis* see Hansen in *CPCPapers* 4 [1997] 33).¹¹

It may thus be concluded that the *Anabasis* conforms to the general Classical norms for the use of the word *polis* in that it is applied exclusively to urban sites which were the centre of a *polis* in the sense of political community;¹² at least there is no detectable deviation from this usage.

Non-Greek Site-Classifications

Whereas the Greek material in the *Anabasis* is exiguous, the non-Greek material is abundant and would repay a closer study. This, however, is not what I intend to give here, since a future study by the Polis Centre will be devoted to the concept of *polis* applied to non-Greek communities (cf. *CPCPapers* 1 [1994] 16), but a few preliminary remarks are surely appropriate in the present context.

Xenophon uses three terms, *polis*, *polisma*, and *kome*, to classify non-Greek communities and settlements and I shall discuss them in that order.

(i). *Polis*. Xenophon regularly applies *polis* to non-Greek communities and in that respect he resembles Herodotos who refers to no less than 60 non-Greek communities as *poleis* (Hansen in *CPCActs* 3 [1996] 39) and Thucydides who describes Etrus-

8 The inscription records a dedication to Hera at Samos and names two Perinthians, but the offering is possibly a communal offering by Perinthos to its *metropolis*, see A.J. Graham, *Colony and Mother City in Ancient Greece*² (Manchester 1972) 162–3.

9 For a recent discussion, see H.D. Westlake, "Diodorus and the Expedition of Cyrus," *Phoenix* 41 (1987) 241–54.

10 See Hansen in *CPCPapers* 3 (1996) 192–4.

11 For Sinope's relations with its colonies, see Graham (*supra* n. 8) 201–3.

12 It may also be noted that in one passage *polis* is used coupled with *ethnos* in the regular formula for "states" (cf. 7.1.33 for which see Hansen in *CPCPapers* 4 [1997] 9–15).

can communities as *poleis*.¹³ Xenophon once uses the expression *barbaros polis* in opposition to *polis Hellenis* (cf. 7.1.29).

The following 22 named non-Greek communities are described as *poleis*:

- 1) Charmande in Mesopotamia (1.5.10).
- 2) Dana in Kappadokia (1.2.20).
- 3) Gymnias in Armenia (4.7.19).
- 4) Ikonion in Phrygia (1.2.19).
- 5) Issoi in Kilikia (1.4.1).
- 6) Kainai in Mesopotamia (2.4.28).
- 7) Kaÿstrou Pedion in Phrygia (1.2.11).
- 8) Kelainai in Phrygia (1.2.7, 8).
- 9) Keramon Agora in Phrygia (1.2.11).
- 10) Kolossai in Phrygia (1.2.6).
- 11) Korsote in Mesopotamia (1.5.4).
- 12) Larisa on the Tigris (3.4.7, 9).
- 13) Mespila in Mesopotamia (3.4.10, 12).
- 14) Metropolis of the Mossynokoi (5.4.15, 24).
- 15) Myriandos in Syria (1.4.6).
- 16) Opis in Mesopotamia (2.4.25).
- 17) Peltai in Phrygia (1.2.10).
- 18) Sittake in Mesopotamia (2.4.13).
- 19) Tarsoi in Kilikia (1.2.23, 24, 26).
- 20) Thapsakos in Syria (1.4.11).
- 21) Thymbrion in Phrygia (1.2.13).
- 22) Tyriaeion in Phrygia (1.2.14).

It is interesting that, in the meagre fragments of the *Anabasis* of Sophainetos of Stymphalos (*FGrHist* 109), the only occurrence of *polis* in a verbatim quotation (fr. 4) refers to Charmande in Mesopotamia, described as a *polis* by Xenophon as well. Whereas both Herodotos and Thucydides occasionally use *polis* in the political sense about non-Greek communities,¹⁴ Xenophon's (and Sophainetos') usage is exclusively urban or topographical. This, however, does not mean that Xenophon classifies any or all non-Greek settlements as *poleis*, since he not only uses *kome* about non-Greek settlements, but even couples *kome* and *polis* in the same sentence: κῶμαι ἔνεισι καὶ πόλεις πολλὰ καὶ μεγάλα (2.4.21). Here the distinction between *kome* and *polis* seems to be based on size; in Greek contexts size is sometimes the distinguishing mark between a *kome* and a *polis*, but the crucial difference is political.¹⁵ There is no sign of the political distinction between the two types of non-Greek

13 Thuc. 6.88.6. See M.H. Hansen, "Aristotle's Two Complementary Views of the Greek *Polis*," in R.W. Wallace & E.M. Harris (eds.), *Transitions to Empire. Essays in Greco-Roman History, 360–146 B.C., in Honor of E. Badian* (Norman and London) 204–5. See also below on Charmande. See also Flensted-Jensen & Hansen in *CPCPapers* 3 (1996) 138, and Hansen in *CPCPapers* 4 (1997) 19–20.

14 See Hansen (*supra* n. 13) 204 with n. 27, referring to e.g. Thuc. 6.88.6.

15 See Hansen in *CPCPapers* 2 (1995) 61–2.

settlement in the *Anabasis*, and size seems to be the primary distinguishing factor. Accordingly, non-Greek *poleis* are qualified by the adjectives μεγάλη and εὐδαίμων in combination,¹⁶ or simply by μεγάλη,¹⁷ or some other similar phrase,¹⁸ and seem often to be treated as sources of provision,¹⁹ though bits and parts of local myth and history are sometimes related.²⁰

(ii). *Polisma*. This is not a very common word in any text.²¹ It is a term which refers exclusively to the urban aspect of a settlement,²² though it has a number of distinct connotations.²³ In prose, its most frequent use is in reference to non-Greek settlements.²⁴ Xenophon's use is thus the standard one.

Polisma is used in two passages: a) at 4.8.17 we find a general reference to (unnamed) *polismata* of the Chalybioi: οὗτοι ἐνέμενον ἐν τοῖς πολίσμασιν. These *polismata* are conceived of as physical places: ἐπεὶ δὲ παρέλθοιεν οἱ Ἕλληνες, εἶποντο ἀεὶ μαχομένοι (sc. the Chalybians). They may have been fortified, although this is not entirely clear from Xenophon's statement: ὄκουν δὲ ἐν τοῖς ὄχυροῖς κτλ.; here a distinction between πολίσματα and τὰ ὄχυρά may perhaps be intended.

b) at 7.8.22, Parthenion in Lydia is described as a *polisma* with *komai* below it; there is thus a distinction between these two types of settlement, and though the passage is too brief to allow certainty, the distinction is probably based on size.

There is thus no marked difference between the use of *polis* and that of *polisma*; and though *polisma* may be specifically appropriate in a non-Greek context (see Flensted-Jensen in *CPCPapers* 2 [1995] 130) there is no reason to think that Xenophon intended to treat e.g. the Chalybians as more "barbarian" than other peoples. They are briefly described in the passage at 4.7.15 as ὧν διτλήθον ἀλκιμώτατοι; they are, however, *not* singled out as the most barbarous people encountered on the march: that honour goes to the Mossynoikoi who are said to have been, in the eyes of the soldiers, βαρβαρώτατοι ... καὶ πλεῖστον τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν νόμων κεχωρισμένοι (5.4.34). Nevertheless, they are said to be living in *poleis* (see e.g. 5.4.31).

16 See at 1.2.6; 1.2.7; 1.2.20; 1.2.23; 1.4.1; 1.4.11; 1.5.10; 2.4.21; 2.4.28; 3.2.23; 4.7.19.

17 See at 2.4.25.

18 See at 2.4.13: πόλις ἦν μεγάλη καὶ πολυάνθρωπος.

19 See e.g. at 1.4.6 about Myriandos: ἐμπόριον δ' ἦν τὸ χωρίον καὶ ὥρμουν αὐτόθι ὀκάδες πολλάι; at 1.5.10 about Charmande: ἐκ ταύτης οἱ στρατιῶται ἡγόραζον τὰ ἐπιτήδεια; at 2.4.28 about Kainai, where bread, cheese, and wine are mentioned.

20 See e.g. at 1.2.8 where the story of Marsyas is related in the description of Kelainai; and at 3.4.7–12 where Xenophon gives a brief account of how the Median cities of Larisa and Mespila were conquered by the Persians.

21 See Flensted-Jensen in *CPCPapers* 2 (1995) 129.

22 Flensted-Jensen in *CPCPapers* 2 (1995) 130.

23 Set out by Flensted-Jensen in *CPCPapers* 2 (1995) 129–31.

24 See Flensted-Jensen *CPCPapers* 2 (1995) 130 (11 instances, all from Herodotos, Thucydides, and Xenophon). It should be noted that the ref. to *Anabasis* 6.4.7 is not a ref. to an actual settlement, since the passage refers hypothetically to what the army would have become had it put up its camp in a certain place: εἰς δὲ τὸ πόλισμα ἂν γεγόμενον οὐκ ἐβούλοντο στρατοπεδεύεσθαι, ἀλλὰ ἐδόκει καὶ τὸ ἐλθεῖν ἐνταῦθα ἐξ ἐπιβουλῆς εἶναι, βουλομένων τινῶν κατοικίσαι πόλιν. Thus the word here refers to the (imagined) urban centre of a *polis*.

(iii). *Kome*. Unlike *poleis* or the *polisma* Parthenion, *komai* are not identified by name but (if they are identified at all) by periphrasis, e.g.: τῇ κώμῃ ἔνθα Χειρίσοφος ἠυλίζετο (4.5.22); τὴν κώμην ἣν εἰλήχει Ξενοφῶν (4.5.24);²⁵ or by owner's name: αἱ δὲ κῶμαι ἐν αἷς ἐσκήνουν Παρυσάτιδος ἦσαν (1.4.9);²⁶ or by the name of the people inhabiting them: ἐν ταῖς τῶν Κόλχων κώμαις (4.8.22);²⁷ or by the name of the territory in which they are situated: κώμας τῆς Βαβυλωνίας χώρας (2.2.13). But, like *poleis*, *komai* seem to be conceived of primarily in socio-economic terms, i.e. as sources for provisions, e.g.: κῶμαι πολλὰ μεστὰί σίτου καὶ οἶνου (1.4.19), ἀφίκοντο εἰς κώμας ὅθεν ἀπέδειξαν οἱ ἡγεμόνες λαμβάνειν τὰ ἐπιτήδεια (2.3.14).²⁸

Komai are often referred to as groups. Such groups of *komai* may cluster around a non-Greek *polisma* (7.8.22), or a royal castle (3.4.27; 4.4.7), or be situated in the territory of a Greek colonial *polis* such as Trapezous (4.8.22) or Byzantion (7.2.1).²⁹ It is thus clear that *komai* are mostly small settlements.³⁰ Even so, a non-Greek *kome* need not be entirely without organisation: *komarchoi* are mentioned at e.g. 4.5.10 and 4.5.24.³¹ But the chief use of *kome* is as a socio-economic term referring to nucleated settlements smaller than *poleis*.

Conclusion

In the *Anabasis* Xenophon uses *polis* both about Greek and about non-Greek communities. In Greek contexts the term is used both in its urban and in its political sense, but in such a way that the term is only applied in the urban sense to towns which were the urban centre of a political *polis*: thus, in the *Anabasis* Xenophon's usage conforms to that found in almost all other Archaic and Classical texts.

In non-Greek contexts *polis* is used exclusively in the topographical sense about major urban centres. But *polis* is only one term used to describe nucleated settlements, others being *polisma* and *kome*. The two instances of *polisma* cannot really be shown to be different from *polis* and do not seem intended to convey a "barbarous" connotation. The chief difference between *polis* and *kome* seems to be one of size and both *poleis* and *komai* are conceived of primarily as centres of provision. But a penetrating study devoted exclusively to the non-Greek site-classifications of the *Anabasis* would be valuable. Such a study could focus on the identity and geo-

25 See also: αἱ δὲ κῶμαι ἐν αἷς ἐσκήνουν (1.4.9); τὰς κώμας τὰς ἐν τοῖς ἄγκεσί τε καὶ μυχοῖς τῶν ὀρέων (4.1.7); ταῖς κώμαις ταῖς ὑπὲρ τοῦ πεδίου παρὰ τὸν Κεντρίτην ποταμὸν (4.3.1); ἐν ταῖς ὑπὸ τὸ ὄρος κώμαις (7.4.5).

26 See also: τὰς Παρυσάτιδος κώμας (2.4.27); and 7.7.1 (*komai* given by Seuthes to Medosades).

27 See also 7.1.13 and 7.2.1 (*komai* of the Thracians).

28 See also: 2.5.37, 3.2.34, 3.4.18, 3.5.1, 4.2.27, 4.4.7, 4.7.18, 4.8.19, 6.4.23, 6.4.24, 7.1.13, 7.3.5, 7.3.9, 7.4.26, 7.4.28, 7.7.1. Even in Greek contexts *kome* is regularly a socio-economic term (Hansen in *CPCPapers* 2 [1995] 81).

29 See further Hansen in *CPCPapers* 2 (1995) 79–80.

30 See however 4.4.2 for a *megale kome*.

31 See also 4.5.29, 30, 4.5.32, 34, 35, 36, 4.6.1, 2; at 4.5.28 occurs ὁ ἄρχων τῆς κώμης.

graphical position of the non-Greek peoples living in *komai* and/or *poleis*, on the urban and other characteristics of such settlements, on how the peoples are described in ethnological terms and on how they are contrasted with Greeks, if they are.

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THE USE OF THE WORD *POLIS* IN THE FRAGMENTS OF SOME HISTORIANS

by

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I. Theopompos, Ephoros and the Hellenica Oxyrhynchia

Like Hekataios, Herodotos and Aineias the Tactician, Ephoros and Theopompos are non-Athenian sources and therefore, when compared with the numerous Athenian sources, they may provide us with important information about whether our source material, being largely Athenian, provides us with an Athenocentric view of what a *polis* was. The problem is that the works of these two historians, the one from Kyme and the other from Chios, are known exclusively from scattered quotes and citations. The term *polis* occurs fairly often in the fragments as printed in *FGrHist* 70 (Ephoros) and 115 (Theopompos), but, as in the case of Hekataios, we must scrap all attestations of *polis* in which the word may be no more than a compiler's paraphrase, and we must concentrate on the few instances in which *polis* occurs in a *verbatim* quotation of either historian.

This cautious approach is all the more important because most of the fragments in which the word *polis* occurs stem from Stephanos of Byzantion and run like this: "X is a *polis* in Y as stated by Ephoros"² or "by Theopompos".³ In many of these fragments, it may well be the toponym (X) or the geographical location (Y) only, and not the site-classification *polis* which Stephanos found in his source.⁴ For a full discussion of this problem see the treatment in *CPCPapers* 1 (1994) 99–124 of Stephanos' use of *polis* and the treatment in *CPCActs* 4 (1997) 17–18 of Hekataios' use of *polis*.

- 1 The part concerning Ephoros, Theopompos and the *Hellenica Oxyrhynchia* is by Mogens Herman Hansen, and that concerning Pherekydes and Hellanikos is by Thomas Heine Nielsen.
- 2 Ephoros fr. 24, 28, 45, 46, 52, 53, 56, 62, 63, 66, 68, 86, 87, 91, 92, 103, 154, 155, 164, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 215, 229, 230, 231, 232, 233. A typical fragment is no. 68: "Ἐν τελλὰ. πόλις Σικελίας. Ἐφορος ιγ'. The only fragments in which we can be sure that the term *polis* is a quote and not just a paraphrase or Stephanos' own site-classification are fr. 24, 47, 52 and 63.
- 3 Theopomp. fr. 9, 11, 15, 17, 33, 34, 44, 47, 54, 56, 60, 61, 82, 84, 115, 116, 123, 125, 137, 138, 142, 144, 146, 147, 149, 152, 160, 172, 180, 182, 190, 194, 195, 196, 198, 199, 202, 211, 218, 219, 241, 242, 244, 360, 361, 362, 363, 364, 365, 366, 368, 370, 371, 372, 373, 374, 375, 379, 407. A typical fragment is no. 11: Σελλασία. πόλις τῆς Λακωνικῆς. Θεόπομπος ἐν δ' Ἑλληνικῶν. The only fragments in which we can be sure that the term *polis* is a quote and not just a paraphrase or Stephanos' own site-classification are fr. 144, 149, 194, 370 and 407.
- 4 See, e.g., Ephoros fr. 84: Δύμη. πόλις Ἀχαιίας ... ὁ πολίτης Δυμαῖος. Ἐφορος κδ'. παραγενομένης δὲ τῆς στρατιᾶς εἰς τὴν Δύμην πρῶτον μὲν οἱ Δυμαῖοι καταπλεγέντες. The preserved quote shows that, in this particular case, it was the toponym *Dyme* and the ethnic *Dymaios*, but not the site-classification *polis*, which Stephanos took from Ephoros. See also Theopompos fr. 160 and 211.

The papyrus fragments referred to as the *Hellenica of Oxyrhynchus* contain a valuable account of some events of the late fifth and early fourth centuries. The fragments have been ascribed sometimes to Ephoros, sometimes to Theopompos, and sometimes to Kratippos.⁵ In a penetrating study Ruschenbusch has argued persuasively in favour of Theopompos.⁶ The authorship of the papyrus fragments is still an open question, but if Ruschenbusch is right they provide us with more evidence of a non-Athenian view of the *polis*.

1. Ephoros

In the *verbatim* fragments of Ephoros the word *polis* occurs twelve times only, once in the sense of territory,⁷ three times in the sense of political community,⁸ and eight times in the urban sense, referring to the following seven towns:

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|----------------|---|
| Ainos | <i>fr.</i> 39: "Εφορος δ' ἐν τῇ δ' περὶ Θραικίων πολισμάτων λέγων φησιν. ἐχομένη δὲ τούτων Αἴνος πόλις, implicitly referred to as a <i>polis</i> in the political sense at Ant. 5.78. A member of the Delian League (<i>IG</i> I ³ 260.VI.15) and of the Second Athenian Naval League (<i>IG</i> II ² 43.B.7). |
| Athenai Diades | <i>fr.</i> 24: "Αθηναί ... Εὐβοίας, Δίαντος κτίσμα, ὡς "Εφορος γ'. "Αβαντος δὲ γίνονται παῖδες "Αλκων καὶ Δίας καὶ "Αρέθουσα, ὧν ὁ μὲν Δίας κτίσας πόλιν οὕτως ἀπὸ τῆς πατρίδος ὠνόμασεν, a member of the Delian League (<i>IG</i> I ³ 71.I.78–9; 279.I.85) and of the Second Athenian Naval League (<i>IG</i> II ² 43.90). |
| Chalisia | <i>fr.</i> 52: ἀναχθέντι δ' ἀπὸ τούτων πόλις ὀνομαζομένη Χαλίσια, completely unknown from other sources. |
| Gargara | <i>fr.</i> 47: μετὰ δὲ τὴν "Ασσον ἐστὶ τὰ Γάργαρα πλησίον πόλις, a member of the Delian League (<i>IG</i> I ³ 270.I.34); struck coins from ca. 420 onwards (Head, <i>Hist. Num.</i> 545); referred to as a <i>polis</i> in the political sense in an honorary decree of ca. 306 B.C. (<i>I. Ilion</i> 1.3–4 <i>et passim</i>). |
| Kydonia | <i>fr.</i> 29: τούτοις δ' εἰσὶ νεγομισμέναι τινὲς ἐορταὶ ἐν Κυδωνίαι, ἐν αἷς οὐκ εἰσίασιν εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἐλεύθεροι, ἀλλ' οἱ δοῦλοι πάντων κρατοῦσι, called <i>polis</i> in the political sense in a dedication of C4f (<i>SEG</i> 33 735). |
| Mantineia | <i>fr.</i> 79: καὶ "Εφορος ἐν τῇ κ' φησιν ὅτι εἰς ε' κόμας τὴν Μαντινέων διόρκισαν πόλιν Λακεδαιμόνιοι – <i>polis</i> is here used in the |

5 I.A.F. Bruce, *An Historical Commentary on the "Hellenica Oxyrhynchia"* (Cambridge 1967) 22–7; P.R. McKechnie & S.J. Kern, *Hellenica Oxyrhynchia* (Warminster 1988) 8–16.

6 E. Ruschenbusch, "Theopompea: ἀντιπολιτεύεσθαι," *ZPE* 39 (1980) 81–90.

7 Fr. 133, used about the Iberian people; for an interpretation of the fragment, see Hansen in *CPCActs* 5 (1998) 128.

8 Fr. 191.3 *bis* (Athens), fr. 191.8 (the coastal *poleis* of Karia, cf. Diod. 11.60.4).

urban and political senses simultaneously: the juxtaposition of *komai* and *polis* points to the urban sense; the city-ethnic to the political.

Paros

fr. 63bis: ἦδη δὲ τῶν τειχῶν πιπτόντων καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ παραδιδόναι τὴν πόλιν τῶν Παρίων διωμολογημένων ... οἱ μὲν ... Πάριοι τὴν πόλιν οὐκέτι τῷ Μιλιτιάδῃ παρεδίδοσαν, called *polis* in the political sense at IG XII 5 110.6, 12 (C4); 111.6 (C4).

Six of the seven towns were unquestionably *poleis* in the political sense as well as urban centres, and the only problematical case is Chalisia, which is completely unknown from other sources and provides us with a *non liquet*.

2. Theopompos

In the *verbatim* fragments of Theopompos' works the word *polis* occurs 28 times, often in the sense of political community,⁹ once in the sense of territory¹⁰ and in thirteen cases "town" is either the principal meaning or at least a connotation. Of these thirteen attestations one is about barbarian *poleis* in general (fr. 113), and one is about a *polis* in India allegedly founded by Alexander the Great and called Peritas in memory of his dead dog (fr. 340). In the remaining eleven cases *polis* is used in the urban sense about the following thirteen named towns:

Ainos(?)

fr. 307: ὁρμώμενος δ' (sc. Miltokythes) ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ... ξενολογήσας διὰ τοῦ Ἡρακλείδου καὶ Πύθωνος τῶν Ἀρχελάου παίδων, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἐκράτει ... The *polis* referred to is presumably Ainos. Herakleides and Python were Ainians, and Miltokythes was eventually caught by Kersobleptes and handed over to the Kardianoι, who instantly put him to death (Dem. 23.169). Ainos and Kardian seem to have been arch-enemies. See F. Blass, "Neue Papyrusfragmente im ägyptischen Museum zu Berlin," *Hermes* 17 (1882) 150 & 153–4; *BKT I* (1904) 78–79.

Aioleion

fr. 144: ἐπορεύθη[ν] (sc. Philip) εἰς πόλιν Αἰόλειον τῆς Βοττικῆς [MS Ἀττικῆς] μὲν οὔσαν, πολιτευομένην δὲ μετὰ τῶν Χαλκιδέων. Here the participle πολιτευομένην indicates that the political sense is a connotation. The Aiolitai are recorded as members of the Delian League in the assessment decree of 422/1 (IG I³ 77.V.17) and in the tribute lists (IG I³ 278.VI.7; 279.II.84; 282.II.42); furthermore, they were a party to the treaty between Athens and the Bottiaians concluded in 422 (IG I³ 76.53); cf. Flensted-Jensen in *CPCPapers* 2 (1995) 111, 117–18.

9 Fr. 20 (*poleis* dominated by Sparta), 75bis (the Utopian *polis* Machimos), 88 (Athens), 121 (Rhodes), 124 (Argos), 153 (Athens), 164bis (Athens), 194 (Syracuse), 213 (Athens), 233 (Taras), 250 (Elis), 263 (*poleis* in Asia Minor), 407 (Chaironeia).

10 Fr. 105 in which ζῆν ἐν τῇ πόλει is a reference to Attika, while ἐξω τῆς πόλεως καταβιοῦν refers to residence in Thrace, Cyprus, Lesbos, Sigeion and Egypt.

- Athenai *fr. 166*: μεγίστην μὲν πόλιν τῶν Ἑλληνίδων οἰκοῦντες (the Athenians); *fr. 347b*: καὶ τῆς χύτρας ἦν ἔβουσι πάντες οἱ κατὰ τὴν πόλιν (Athens) οὐδεὶς γεύεται τῶν ἱερῶν.
- Batia *fr. 206*: Θεόπομπος γοῦν ἐν μγ' τέτταρας πόλεις φησὶν εἶναι τῶν Κασσωπαίων, ἀλλ' οὐ τρεῖς ὥσπερ ὁ Δημοσθένης, Ἑλάτρειάν τε καὶ Πανδοσίαν καὶ Βιτίαν καὶ Βούχετα. – Ἑλάτρεια is a variant reading of Ἑλάτεια (see Dem. 7.32), whereas Βιτία is probably a corruption of Βατία (see Theopomp. *fr. 382*). Batia was probably an Elean colony like the three others mentioned at Dem. 7.32, see *infra* 156.
- Boucheta *fr. 206*, quoted *supra* s.v. Batia, see *infra* 156.
- Byzantion *fr. 62*: ἦσαν δὲ οἱ Βυζάντιοι καὶ διὰ τὸ δημοκρατεῖσθαι πολλὴν ἤδη χρόνον καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἐπ' ἐμπορίου κειμένην ἔχειν καὶ τὸν δῆμον ἅπαντα περὶ τὴν ἀγορὰν καὶ τὸν λιμένα διατριβεῖν ἀκόλαστοι ..., called *polis* in the political sense at *IvO* 45.3 (306 BC).
- Dystos *fr. 149*: Δύστος, πόλις Εὐβοίας. Θεόπομπος ἐν Φιλιππικῶν κδ' ἀποστήσας δὲ τοὺς ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ περιοικίδι τῶν Ἑρετριέων ἐστράτευσεν (sc. Philip) ἐπὶ πόλιν Δύστον. See *infra* 145.
- Elateia *fr. 206*, quoted *supra* s.v. Batia, see 156.
- Gela *fr. 358*: χρησιμῶ μαθὼν γὰρ ὡς πόλιν μὲν ἐκκτίσει, γελαῖα δοκήσας τῶν ἀνελπίστων τόδε, κλῆσιν ὅθεν τέθεικε τῇ πόλει Γέλαν, called *polis* first in the political sense, and then in the urban sense at Thuc. 6.4.3.
- Hermonassa *fr. 370*: Ἑρμώνασσα ... Ἑκαταῖος (*FGrHist* 1 *fr. 208*) δὲ καὶ Θεόπομπος πόλιν αὐτὴν φασιν. There are no other references than these two to Hermonassa being a *polis*. But since Hermonassa was, probably, a joint colony of Miletos and Mytilene, the presumption is that it was a *polis* in the political sense. For a full discussion, see *CPCPapers* 4 (1997) 23.
- Larisa *fr. 386*: καὶ ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ ἢ τε τῶν Ἀργείων ἄκρα καὶ ὁ τὴν Ἥλειαν ἀπὸ Δύμης διορίζων Λάρισος ποταμός. Θεόπομπος δὲ καὶ πόλιν λέγει ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ μεθορίᾳ κειμένην Λάρισαν, see *infra* 145.
- Pandosia *fr. 206*, quoted *supra* s.v. Batia, see *infra* 156.
- Therme *fr. 140*: Θέρμαν ... Θράκιον τοῦτό ἐστι πόλισμα, ὡς καὶ Θεόπομπος ἐν κβ' φησὶν. Apart from a reference to Ephoros' lost treatise περὶ Θρακίων πολισμάτων (s.v. Αἰνίους), this is the only occurrence of πόλισμα in Harpokration's lexicon. Thus, the presumption is that it is not his own site-classification but one he found in Theopompos' work. When denoting a Hellenic settlement *polisma* seems almost invariably to have been used about

communities which were *poleis* in the political sense too, see *CPC-Papers* 2 (1995) 139–32. Therme is called *polis* in the urban sense at Hecat. fr. 146; Hdt. 7.124.1; 7.127.1; 7.179.1. Furthermore, Therme is mentioned without any site-classification by Herodotos at 7.121.1; 123.3; 128.1; 130.3; 183.2, by Thucydides at 1.61.2 and 2.29.6 and by Aischines at 2.27. The coins once assigned to Therme (Head *HN*² 203) were, in fact, struck by Argilos, see K. Liampi in *Νομισματικά Χρονικά* 13 (1994) 7–36. Annexation by the Macedonian kings after the Persian wars, see M. Hatzopoulos, *Macedonian Institutions under the Kings I* (Athens 1996) 106–7.

The fragments of Theopompos include more problematical cases than any other author. Some of the problems, however, have nothing to do with the *lex Hafniensis*, but with the fragmentary nature of the evidence. A Larisa in the borderland between Achaia and Elis is completely unknown from other sources and unattested archaeologically as well. In fr. 307 the identification of the *polis* with Ainos is not certain. That the four Kassopian towns were *poleis* in the political sense too is probable, but there is not (yet) any decisive proof, see the discussion of Demosthenes' use of *polis* in this volume pages 151–6. Similarly, our knowledge about Hermonassa and Therme is too scanty to allow of a firm conclusion about their political status. In all these cases, however, the most pessimistic conclusion is a *non liquet*. None of the passages can be adduced as evidence against the *lex Hafniensis*. Dystos, on the other hand, may be a real stumbling-block.

In the fourth century, Dystos was an Eretrian deme (*IG* XII 9 240.18, see Knoepfler in *CPCActs* 4 [1997] 365, 374), and perhaps also a tribe (*phyle*, Knoepfler *ibidem* 399, 403). Several settlements, however, which were Eretrian demes in the 4th century B.C. are attested separately in *ATL* as members of the Delian League, e.g. Grynchai (*IG* I³ 262.I.24 etc.) and Styra (*IG* I³ 263.IV.28 etc.), and the accepted view is that they were, originally, *poleis*, which were subdued by Eretria and turned into demes in the late 5th century. By analogy, Dystos may originally have been a *polis* conquered by Eretria and turned into a civic subdivision. The evidence from the rest of the Greek world shows that *poleis* turned into civic subdivisions could sometimes retain their status of being *poleis* (though now, of course, only dependent *poleis*), see Hansen in *CPCPapers* 4 (1997) 37. Is Dystos such a settlement? Perhaps, but we cannot be sure. There are two obstacles to taking Dystos as an exact parallel to Styra and Grynchai: (1) Dystos is not recorded in *ATL* as a member of the Delian League, and (2) Grynchai and Styra are not recorded as (dependent) *poleis* in the 4th century. Such arguments from silence do not, of course, carry much weight,¹¹ and I find it difficult to choose between (a) rejecting the piece of information as being misreported or misunderstood by Theopompos, and (b) accepting the information at face value on the assumption that, in ca. 343, Dystos was (still) a (dependent) *polis* but, at the same time, a civic subdivision of Eretria. The impressive remains of classical Dystos are certainly compatible with its status as a small (dependent) *polis*,

11 Cf., e.g., Posideion, a deme of Histiaia, but also a *polis* with its own coins in the Classical period. It was a perhaps a member of the Delian League and is included in the assessment decree of 425/4 but is never recorded in the tribute lists. For documentation see *infra* 209.

see W. Hoepfner & E.-L. Schwandner in *Geschichte des Wohnens* (Stuttgart 1999) 352–67. An alternative solution to the problem is that suggested by Knoepfler in *CPCActs* 4 (1997) 401, i.e. that Theopompos uses *polis* in its urban sense about a town which was *not* a *polis* in the political sense, but see *infra* 196.

3. The Hellenica Oxyrhynchia

There are altogether twenty-eight attestations of *polis* in the Oxyrhynchus Historian of which one refers to a barbarian town, sc. to Kelainai in Phrygia (15.3). About Hellenic cities the word is used fourteen times in the political sense¹² and thirteen in the urban sense. In one case the reference is to an unknown *polis*,¹³ in the other eleven passages *polis* is used in the urban sense – sometimes with the political sense as a connotation – about the following eight named Hellenic settlements:

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| Daulis | 21.5bis: [πορθ]ήσαντες τήν τε τῶν Παραποταμίων χώραν καὶ Δαυλίαν καὶ Φανοτέων ἐπεχείρησαν (the Boiotians) ταῖς πόλεσι προσβάλλειν. καὶ Δαυλία μὲν προσελθόντες ἀπεχώρησαν αὐθις ... Φανοτέων δὲ τὸ προάστιον κατὰ κράτος εἶλον ... παρ' Ὑάμπολιν ἔδοξεν αὐτοῖς ἀποπειρᾶσθαι τῆς πόλεως. Here <i>polis</i> is attested principally in the urban sense, but the use of city-ethnics instead of toponyms in the first part of the period indicates that the political sense is a connotation. |
| Ephesos | 1.1: τήν [δύναμιν προήγαγε]ν ἐπὶ τῆς πόλεως (Ephesos), 1.2bis: πρὸς τὴν πόλιν ... τὰ δὲ ἔξω τῆς πό[λεως] 2.1: κ[α]τὰ κράτος ληψ[ό]μενοι τὴν πόλιν, called <i>polis</i> in the political sense in an honorary decree of C4f (I.Délos 73). |
| Hyampolis | 21.5, quoted <i>supra</i> s.v. Daulis. The citizens of Hyampolis recorded as guarantors of a loan, ca. 450–25 B.C. (SEG 37 422). |
| Kaunos | 23.5: λαβὼν (Konon) παρὰ τοῦ Λεωνόμου τῶν τε [Καρῶν] συχνοὺς καὶ τοὺς Ἑλλήνας ἅπαντας ἐξήγαγεν [αὐτο]ὺς ἐκ τῆς πόλεως (Kaunos). cf 23.3bis, 23.4. The Kaunians are recorded in the Athenian tribute lists (IG I ³ 260.VII.8); and struck coins in the late Archaic and again in the late Classical periods (Head, <i>HN</i> ² 612). |
| Megara | 4.1: [τῆ]ς ὁδοῦ τῆς πρὸς τὴν π[ό]λιν (Megara) φερούσης, called <i>polis</i> in the political sense in the Megarian Memorial of the Persian War (Tod, <i>GHI</i> 1 20.15). |
| Notion | 8.4: ἐκεῖνοι μὲν οἳ τὴν (the Lakedaimonians) διαπραξάμενοι ταῦτα καὶ τρόπαιον στήσαντες πρὸς τῷ λιμένι τῆς πόλεως (Notion, cf. Bruce <i>ad locum</i>) εἰς [Ἐφεσον πάλιν ἀπῆλθον, for Notion as a <i>polis</i> in the political sense, see <i>infra</i> 147. |

12 4.2; 9.2, 3; 10.2 (Athens); 10.2bis, 5 (*poleis* visited by Timokrates of Rhodes); 19.2 (Boiotian *poleis*); 19.3 (Thebes); 19.4 (Haliartos, Lebadeia, Koroneia); 20.2 (Boiotian *poleis*); 20.2, 3, 4 (Thebes). All references are to Chambers' Teubner edn. (1993).

13 16.2: [οἱ]κοδομεῖ[τιν ---] πόλεως [---].

Parapotamioi 21.5, quoted *supra* s.v. Daulis.
 Phanoteis 21.5, quoted *supra* s.v. Daulis.

The major problem is to find out whether Notion was a *polis* in the political sense, or just the port of Kolophon. The Νοτιᾶς and the Κολοφώνιοι are listed separately in the Athenian tribute lists from 454/3 (*IG* I³ 259.III.21–2) to 416/5 (*IG* I³ 289.I.40–41); the Notians are referred to once again as a separate community in an Athenian decree of 405/4 (*IG* II² 1.48); *theorodokoi* in Notion to host *theoroi* from Argos are twice recorded, first in ca. 330 (*SEG* 23 189.II.7) and again in 323/2 (*SEG* 36 331.II.44–5); towards the end of the fourth century Notion entered into a *sympo-liteia* with Kolophon.¹⁴

The Kolophonians, on the other hand, appear as a political community in some fourth-century decrees (*AJA* 566 [1935] 372–9); they struck coins continuously from the early Classical period and down to ca. 300 (Head, *HN*² 569–70); the borders of the territory of Kolophon are mentioned in an arbitration of C41 (*SEG* 28697.11); it was decided in ca. 310 to resettle the old urban centre (Migeotte, *Souscriptions* no. 69); and an Olympic victor from Kolophon is attested for the year 320 (Paus. 6.17.4, Moretti no. 475).

But Notion and Kolophon were not just two distinct *poleis* independent of one another. After a *stasis* in Kolophon in the 420s between a pro-Persian faction settled in inland Kolophon and a pro-Athenian faction settled in Notion, the Athenians had Notion resettled with Athenians, Kolophonians and, undoubtedly, the native Notians (Thuc. 3.34.1–4). Describing the *stasis* Thucydides says that Notion in some sense belonged to Kolophon: Νότιον τὸ Κολοφώνιον (3.34.1). The Athenian tribute lists, however, as well as all the other evidence shows that both Notion and Kolophon persisted as separate political communities. Yet, Aristotle cites Notion and Kolophon as an example of a community in which *stasis* is likely to occur because the territory is not well suited for being the hinterland of one single *polis*: στασίαζουσι δὲ ἐνίοτε αἱ πόλεις καὶ διὰ τοὺς τόπους, ὅταν μὴ εὐφύως ἔχῃ ἡ χώρα πρὸς τὸ μίαν εἶναι πόλιν, οἷον ... Κολοφώνιοι καὶ Νοτιεῖς (*Pol.* 1303b 7–10). Aristotle's use of the city-ethnics underlines the presence of two distinct communities. The conclusion is that Kolophon and Notion were sometimes one *polis* with Notion as the harbour and Kolophon as the inland city, but sometimes they were separate *poleis* in the political sense, and then either two independent *poleis* or a large *polis*, Kolophon, controlling a dependent *polis*, Notion. This is not the place to disentangle the mess. My point is that the Oxyrhynchus historian calls Notion a *polis* in the urban sense knowing that it was also a *polis* in the political sense.

II. Pherekydes and Hellanikos

In the fragments of Pherekydes and Hellanikos as presented by Jacoby in *FGrHist* the following named sites are called *polis*, either in *verbatim* quotations (v) or in passages where the term *polis* surely goes back to the mythographer (i):

14 Meritt *AJP* 56 (1935) 355–7; L. Robert, *Opera Minora* (Amsterdam 1969) 1244–5; M. Piérart *BCH* 108 (1984) 168–71.

1. *Pherekydes*

Thetideion (Thessaly): ν = fr. 1a: ἔπειτα Πηλεὺς ᾗχετο εἰς Φθίαν, [καὶ] Θέτιν ἐπὶ τῶν ἵππων τούτων ἄγων, καὶ οἰκεῖ ἐν Φαρσάλῳ καὶ ἐν Θετιδείῳ, ὃ καλεῖται ἀπὸ τῆς Θέτιδος ἡ πόλις.

Sipylos (Phrygia, cf. Hellanikos fr. 76): ν = fr. 38: ἡ δὲ Νιόβη ὑπὸ τοῦ ἄχεος ἀναχωρεῖ εἰς Σίπυλον, καὶ ὁρᾷ τὴν πόλιν ἀνεστραμμένην καὶ Ταντάλῳ λίθον ἐπικρεμᾶμενον.

Ereuthalie (Argolid): ν = fr. 66: τοῦ δ' Ἐρευθαλίων, ἀφ' οὗ Ἐρευθαλίη πόλις καλεῖται ἐν Ἄργει, καὶ Φόρβας.

Lerne (Argolid): i = fr. 70: τὴν Λέρνην οἱ μὲν λέγουσι κρήνην, οἱ δὲ λοχιῶδες χωρίον. ἐνταῦθα δὲ καὶ Ὑδραν καταδεδυκέναι μυθολογοῦσι. Φερεκύδης δὲ καὶ πόλιν φησίν. οἱ δὲ ἐπίνειον Ἄργους, ἣ νῦν καλεῖται Λάμπεια.

Oresteion (Arkadia): ν = fr. 135a: ὁ δὲ (sc. Orestes) καταφεύγει εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος, καὶ ἵζει ἰκέτης πρὸς τῷ βωμῷ. αἱ δὲ Ἐρινύες ἔρχονται ἐπ' αὐτὸν θέλουσαι ἀποκτεῖναι, καὶ ἐρύκει αὐτὰς ἡ Ἄρτεμις. ἐξ οὗ καὶ ἡ πόλις αὕτη Ὀρέστειον καλεῖται ἀπὸ Ὀρέστου.

Oitylos (Sparta): ν = fr. 168: τοῦ δὲ γίνεται Ἀμφ<ι>άναξ· τοῦ δὲ Οἴτυλος, ἀφ' οὗ ἡ πόλις ἡ ἐν Σπάρτῃ καλεῖται. On ἐν Σπάρτῃ, see Hall in this volume 78.

We note first that it is not always clear from the fragments whether we are dealing with a Greek or a non-Greek site; thus Sipylos may have been placed in Phrygia by Hellanikos (*FGrHist* 4) fr. 76,¹⁵ but from the Pherekydean fragment it cannot be determined whether its author considered the site Greek or non-Greek.¹⁶ But the remaining sites are situated in Greece proper and must have been considered Greek. Some of these Greek sites may very well have been *poleis* in the author's lifetime; thus Oresteion was probably a Mainalian *polis*¹⁷ and there is no reason to deny Oitylos *polis* status simply because it was a perioikic community of the Spartans.¹⁸ But in all cases *polis* is probably used by Pherekydes in a retrospective mythological way with no intention of or interest in contemporary site-classification: Thetideion was probably simply a locality in Pharsalian territory with a sanctuary of Thetis,¹⁹ and Pherekydes' interest centres on its name,²⁰ not its status,²¹ and the same is ob-

15 Sipylos is variously assigned to Phrygia (by Soph. *Ant.* 825; Kallisthenes [*FGrHist* 124] fr. 54.10; Strabo 12.8.2, 14.5.28; Eust. *Il.* 4.962.2); or Lydia (by Strabo 1.3.17 [referring to Demokles]; schol. in Hom. *Il.* 24.615, 615a1, 615a2; schol. in Pind. *Ol.* 1.62a, 91a). See also Hsch. Σ 712 (Σίπυλον· ὅρος Λυδίας καὶ Φρυγίας).

16 See also Eur. *IA* 952: Σίπυλος ἔσται πόλις, ὄρισμα βαρβάρων.

17 See Nielsen in *CPCActs* 3 (1996) 134–138.

18 See Shipley in *CPCActs* 4 (1997) 213, 229.

19 *RE*² VI col. 205–206. On the site, see J.-C. Decourt, *Énipeus: La Vallée de l'Énipeus en Thessalie: études de topographie et de géographie antique*, *BCH Suppl.* 21 (1990) 205–208.

20 See also Phylarchos (*FGrHist* 81) fr. 81.

21 Other sources which refer to Thetideion are: Eur. *Andr.* 16–20 (πόλεως Φαρσαλίας; see Stevens' comm. on the passage); Polyb. 18.20.6 (τὸ Θετιδεῖον τῆς Φαρσαλίας); Strabo 9.5.6 (not classified and simply described as near Pharsalos); Ailius Herodianos, *De pros. cath.* 3.1 375.1 (*polis*); Steph. Byz. 521.8 (*polis*); schol. in Pind. *Nem.* 4.81a (ἱερὸν), *Nem.* 81b (*polis*, citing Phylarchos but probably not for the site-classification); schol. in Eur. *Andr.* 17.7 (*polis*), in 46.3 (ἱερὸν).

vously true of Oresteion²² and Oitylos²³ as well as the obscure Ereuthalie;²⁴ and in all cases the name is derived from mythological figures. Sipylos may not have existed in the Classical period,²⁵ but the reference is, in any case, clearly mythological and thus resembles references to Krisa (see Hansen in this volume 159–60). The reference to Lerna was presumably found in passage dealing with Herakles and must likewise be mythological. In a certain sense, then, all Pherekydes' references are to mythological matters and his usage resembles Hekataios' use of *polis* about Thorikos,²⁶ or the Classical references to Troy or Krisa as *poleis* (see Hansen in this volume 160). Finally, it should be noted that in each instance *polis* is probably used in the urban and not in the political sense since the focus of interest is on the toponym, not on the community, in which case the city-ethnic would have been in place.

2. *Hellánikos*

Kroton (Italy = Cortona): *v* = fr. 4: ἐπὶ τούτου (sc. Nanas) βασιλεύοντος οἱ Πελασγοὶ ὑπ' Ἑλλήνων ἀνέστησαν, καὶ ἐπὶ Σπινῆτι ποταμῷ ἐν τῷ Ἰονίῳ κόλπῳ τὰς νῆας καταλιπόντες Κρότωνα πόλιν ἐν μεσογείῳ εἶλον, καὶ ἐντεῦθεν ὁρμώμενοι τὴν νῦν καλεομένην Τυρσηνὴν ἔκτισαν. The fragment belongs to the *Phoronis*; the Kroton referred to is not the Greek colony, but the Etruscan city Cortona, on which see M. Gras in *Bibliografia topografica della colonizzazione Greca in Italia e nelle isole Tirreniche* (Pisa and Rome 1987) 422–431.

Troy: *i* = fr. 25b: Ἑλλάνικος δὲ χαριζόμενος τοῖς Ἰλίουσιν, οἷος ἐκείνου θυμός, συνηγορεῖ τὸ τὴν αὐτὴν εἶναι πόλιν τὴν νῦν τῇ τότε. The fragment belongs to the *Troika*.

Tindion (Egypt): *v* = fr. 54: ... πόλις ἐπιποταμίη, Τίνδιον ὄνομα αὐτῇ, θεῶν ὑμήγυρις· καὶ ἱερὸν μέγα καὶ ἄγνόν ἐν μέσῃ τῇ πόλει. The fragment belongs to the *Aigyptiaka*.

Katane (Sicily): *v* = fr. 82: Θεοκλῆς ἐκ Χαλκίδος μετὰ Χαλκιδέων καὶ Ναξίων ἐν Σικελίῃ πόλιν ἔκτισε (cf. Thuc. 6.3.3). The fragment belongs to the *Hiereiai hai en Argei*.

Bembina (Argolid near Nemea): *i* = fr. 102: Ἑλλάνικος δὲ Βέμβινον καὶ πόλιν φησὶν. The fragment belongs to the *Phoronis*.

Akele (Lydia): *v* = fr. 112: Ἑλλάνικος δ' εἶπεν “εἰς πόλιν Ἀκέλην”. The fragment belongs to the *Phoronis*.

22 For sources on Oresteion (= Orestasion), see Nielsen in *CPCActs* 3 (1996) 126, 136; it is called *polis* in Eur. *El.* 1273–75 and in Paus. 8.27.3, 8.44.2; Steph. Byz. 494.23 (*polis*), 495.4 (*chorion*); schol. in Eur. *Or.* 1645, 1646 (*polis*).

23 For sources on Oitylos, see Shipley in *CPCActs* 4 (1997) 229; it is called *polis* in, e.g., post-Classical inscriptions and in Paus. 3.25.10 and Steph. Byz. 487.15.

24 Apparently this is the only mention of the *settlement* as opposed to its eponymous hero.

25 *RE*² III col. 281 (“eine früh untergegangene Stadt”). The city was believed to have disappeared during the reign of Tantalos (Strabo 1.3.17).

26 For which see Hansen in *CPCPapers* 4 (1997) 25–26.

We note first that all occurrences seem to be urban in sense and that *polis* is used in this sense about non-Greek sites (Tindion and Kroton, where the latter reference is clearly mythological), but also that, again, it is not always clear whether we are dealing with Greek or non-Greek sites: it is unclear whether Akele is considered Greek. Of the Greek sites Katane and Ilion²⁷ (Troy) are unproblematic as *poleis* and these references are not mythological but historical (if we want to draw that distinction). This leaves Bembina as the only real problematical case, since this site was not a *polis*.²⁸ But here again, the reference is found in mythographic treatise, the *Phoronis*.²⁹

The conclusion is that in mythological contexts *polis* may be used without implications for the status or function of a site in the author's own day.

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- 27 For Ilion as a *polis* in the Classical period, see Xen. *Hell.* 3.1.16 (*polis* in the political sense) and Tod, *GHI* II 148 (an honorary decree passed by the Ἰλιεῖς).
- 28 On Bembina, see Strabo 8.6.19 (*kome*); Aillios Herodianos, *De pros. cath.* 3.1 383.25 (Βέμβινον πόλις τῆς Νεμέας, ὡς Ἑλλάνικος, ἄλλοι δὲ Βέμβιναν καὶ κώμην φασίν), *Περὶ παρωνύμων* 3.2 866.26 (*kome*) Steph. Byz. 162.6 (*kome*).
- 29 On the *Phoronis*, see L. Pearson, *Early Ionian Historians* (Oxford 1939) 157–170, esp. 168 where the connection between Bembina and Herakles is pointed out. It also seems certain that Bembina was referred to in the *Herakleia* of Panyasis, see fr. 4 & 5 (Bernabé). I should like to thank Jean-Claude Decourt, Marcel Piérart, and Lene Rubinstein for answering some simple questions about areas not particularly well known to me.

THE USE OF THE WORD *POLIS* IN THE ATTIC ORATORS

by

MOGENS HERMAN HANSEN

In this article – once again – I focus on the use of the word *polis* used about urban centres other than Athens, and the purpose of the study is to investigate whether such *poleis* – in the urban sense – were *poleis* in the political sense too. By contrast with former investigations of the meanings of *polis* in Hekataios, Herodotos, Thucydides, Xenophon, and Pseudo-Skylax, I prefer in this treatment of the orators¹ not just to cite but to quote some of the passages in which *polis* in the urban sense designates a named *polis* other than Athens. Nowadays historians seem to have no time for looking up source references and therefore I find it expedient in at least one of our studies of the use of the word *polis* to provide the readers with the context in which the term is used. Apart from this innovation, the format of the study is the same as in the previous treatments of the uses and meanings of *polis* in Archaic and Classical sources.

The overwhelming majority of attestations of *polis* in the Attic orators concern Athens, and in almost all cases *polis* is used in the political sense. *Polis* is only infrequently used in the urban sense about towns other than Athens, and almost all the relevant attestations come from Demosthenes and Isokrates. Accordingly, I have subdivided the article into three sections, one about Demosthenes, one about Isokrates, and one about the very few occurrences in the other orators.

1. Demosthenes

In the *Corpus Demosthenicum* there are about 1125 attestations of the word *polis*. Problems with the text make it impossible to reach an exact figure. The total number is in fact a little higher, viz., 1143 attestations, but I have subtracted occurrences in spurious documents (especially those inserted in the speech *On the Crown*) and in quotes of poets (especially those from Sophokles and Solon inserted in the speech *On the False Embassy*). My investigation covers the entire corpus, since there is reason to believe that the Pseudo-Demosthenic speeches are, in any case, fourth-century documents.² Even the letters are, presumably, genuine, apart from no. 5, in

- 1 Lists of attestations of *polis* in the Attic orators were compiled in 1992–3 by M.H. Hansen (Aischines, Demosthenes) and D. Whitehead (Andokides, Antiphon, Deinarchos, Hyperides, Isokrates, Lykourgos and Lysias).
- 2 D.F. McCabe, *The Prose-Rhythm of Demosthenes* (New York 1981). On the authenticity of Dem. 25 *Against Aristogeiton* I see M.H. Hansen, *Apagoge Endeixis and Ephegesis* (Odense 1976) 144–52, countered by R. Sealey, *Demosthenes and His Time* (New York 1993) 237–9,

which *polis* does not occur.³ I include Philip's letter (= Dem. 12) which is obviously not by Demosthenes but belongs in this context.

It goes without saying that the great majority of occurrences, altogether some 933, concern the Athenian *polis*. In 115 passages the reference is to an unnamed *polis* or the *polis* in general, and 81 passages only concern named *poleis* other than Athens.⁴ In a few of these cases *polis* is used in the plural and applied to the *poleis* within a named region, e.g. Phokis.⁵ But mostly it is an individual named community which is classified as a *polis*. Apart from Athens, thirty-three other named communities are called *polis*, see *infra*.

Again, in Demosthenes the word *polis* is used in the political sense much more frequently than in the urban or territorial senses. There are just 18 passages in which the territorial sense is either the principal meaning or a clearly detectable connotation.⁶ In some 79 passages *polis* means town, or town is a connotation that goes with the political sense of the word.⁷ In the rest of the attestations *polis* is used either exclusively in its political sense, or the political sense seems to prevail over the other two. These figures must, of course, be taken with a pinch of salt. In many cases *polis* conveys, possibly, all three meanings at the same time, and an exact classification is simply impossible.

Apart from Athens thirty-three named communities are called *polis*, six in the political sense only,⁸ twenty-seven in the urban sense, and of these six are described

but Sealey's remaining arguments against authenticity have been countered by L. Rubinstein, *Synegoroi in the People's Court in Classical Athens* (unpublished Cambridge dissertation 1998).

3 S. Goldstein, *The Letters of Demosthenes* (New York 1968), confirmed by McCabe's stylistic analysis (*supra* n. 2).

4 933 + 115 + 81 add up to 1129, as against 1125 occurrences of *polis*, because, in a few passages *polis* denotes both Athens and some other *polis*, see, e.g., Dem. 60.30: κοινοῦ δ' ὄντος ἀμφοτέραις ταῖς πόλεσιν (Athens and Thebes) τοῦ παρόντος κινδύνου.

5 *Dioikismos* of twenty-two Phokian *poleis*: 19.123, cf. 18.36, 42; 19.61, 62, 141. Thirty-two Thracian *poleis* destroyed by Philip: 9.26; cf. 23.141. Illyrian *poleis* protected by building walls 4.48. *Poleis* in the Gulf of Pagasai: 12.5. *Poleis* in Euboeia: 18.100.

6 3.31; 8.40; 9.67, 70; 10.63bis; 18.132; 19.342; 22.13; 23.41bis, 52bis; 25.87, 89, 95; 40.32bis. A typical instance is the punishment of exile, often described as banishment from the *polis*, i.e. from the territory of the *polis*, see e.g. 25.95: ἐξορίσαι, ῥιψάι ἐκ τῆς πόλεως. For a passage in which the sense of territory seems to be combined with the sense of town, see 18.132: Ἀντιφῶντα, ὃς ἐπαγγελλάμενος Φιλίππῳ τὰ νεῶρι ἐμπρήσειν εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἦλθεν. For the sense of territory combined with the sense of political community, see 10.63: οὐκ ἔστι τῶν ἔξω τῆς πόλεως ἐχθρῶν κρατῆσαι, πρὶν ἂν τοὺς ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ πόλει κολάσῃτ' ἐχθροὺς. For a possible instance of all three meanings combined, see 9.70: καὶ ἡμεῖς ... πόλιν μεγίστην ἔχοντες, ἀφορμὰς πλείστας, ἀξίωμα κάλλιστον, τί ποιῶμεν;

7 Clear attestations referring to Athens are, e.g., 18.169: θορύβου πλήρης ἦν ἡ πόλις. 18.204: τὴν χώραν καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἐκλιπεῖν. 18.230: ἐπτακόσια στάδι' ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως. 19.126: ἐπειδὴ ... τοιαύτη ταραχὴ καὶ τοιοῦτος θόρυβος περιεστῆκει τὴν πόλιν. 23.207: τὰ τῆς πόλεως οἰκοδομήματα. Other attestations are: 3.31; 18.96, 132, 168, 204, 217, 239; 23.207; 25.26, 52, 87, 89; 37.3; 47, 62, 63; 57.33. For *polis* in the sense of town referring to other *poleis* see *infra*.

8 Korkyra (24.202); Lakeldaimon (10.47); Mytilene (40.36, 37); Rhodos (15.13, 27); Selymbria (15.26); Taras (61.46).

as *poleis* in the political sense in another passage of the corpus,⁹ whereas twenty-one are attested as *poleis* in the urban sense only. The evidence for the *polis* status of the twenty-seven communities is as follows (references to *polis* in the urban sense are italicised):

- Aigina 23.211: (Λάμπις) κατεσκεύακεν τὴν πόλιν αὐτοῖς καὶ τὸ ἐμπόριον, called a *polis* in the political sense at Xen. *Hell.* 2.2.9 and 5.1.5.
- Amphipolis 12.22: πάντες οἰκοῦμεν τὰς πόλεις ... ἀντιποιεῖσθε (the Athenians) τῆς πόλεως (Amphipolis), called a *polis* in the political sense at 1.5 and 8.
- Apollonia 9.26: Ὀλυνθον μὲν δὴ καὶ Μεθώνην καὶ Ἀπολλωνίαν καὶ δύο καὶ τριάκοντα πόλεις ἐπὶ Θράκης ἑῶ, ἃς ἀπάσας οὕτως ὡμῶς ἀνήρηκεν ὥστε μὴδ' εἰ πάποτε φικήθησαν προσελθόντ' εἶναι ῥάδιον εἰπεῖν, called a *polis* in the political sense at Xen. *Hell.* 5.2.11.
- Boucheta 7.32: τὰς δ' ἐν Κασσωπία τρεῖς πόλεις, Πανδοσίαν καὶ Βούχετα καὶ Ἐλάτειαν, Ἡλείων ἀποικίας, κατακάυσας τὴν χώραν καὶ εἰς τὰς πόλεις βιασάμενος παρέδωκεν Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τῷ κηδεστῇ τῷ ἑαυτοῦ δουλεύειν. Boucheta is called a *polis* by Theopompos (*FGrHist* 115 fr. 206), probably in the urban sense, perhaps in the political sense as well. Strabo 7.7.5 classifies Bouchetion as a *polichnion*. In C4 Boucheta was a walled settlement of ca. 3.4 ha (P. Funke, forthcoming in the *CPCInventory*), see *infra* 156.
- Byzantion 18.87: χάρακα βαλόμενος (Philip) πρὸς τῇ πόλει καὶ μηχανήματ' ἐπιστήσας ἐπολιόρκει, called *polis* in the urban and political sense combined at 8.15: μᾶλλον ἢ κείνῳ παραδῶσειν τὴν πόλιν. Classified as a *polis* in the political sense at Xen. *Anab.* 7.1.27.
- Elateia 7.32, quoted and discussed *supra* s.v. Boucheta and *infra* 156. Elateia is called a *polis* by Theopompos (*FGrHist* 115 fr. 206), probably in the urban sense, perhaps in the political sense as well. Elateia must have been a walled settlement in 343/2 when the city was conquered by Philip (Dem. 7.32). The preserved walls are Hellenistic and enclose an area of ca. 15 ha. (P. Funke, forthcoming in the *CPCInventory*).
- Elis 9.27: Ἥλιν ἔχει (Philip) τηλικαύτην πόλιν ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ. It is impossible to decide whether *polis* is here used in the urban sense or in the political sense, or in both senses combined. Elis is called a *polis* in the political sense in a C5 law (*InO* 3.3) and by Gorgias in his Praise of Elis (fr. 10., DK).

- Eretria: 9.57: ὁ δῆμος εἶχε τὴν πόλιν καὶ τὸν Πορθμόν, called *polis* in the political sense at 18.79.
- Halos 19.39: οἱ μὲν γὰρ Ἀλεῖς ... τοιαύτης τετυχήκασι διαλλαγῆς ὥστ' ἐξελήλανται καὶ ἀνάστατος ἡ πόλις αὐτῶν γέγονεν, called a *polis* in the political sense at 19.36.
- Kardia 9.35: Χερρονήσου τὴν μεγίστην ἔχει (Philip) πόλιν Καρδίαν; here, as well as at 8.64, *polis* may be used in the urban and political senses combined. 23.182: οὕτω Χερρονήσου κεῖται πρὸς τῆς Θράκης ἡ Καρδιανῶν πόλις. Kardia is called a *polis* in the political sense at 23.181.
- Korinthos 20.52: ἀλλ' ὅτε ἡ μεγάλη μάχη πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους ἐγένεθ' ἡ ἐν Κορίνθῳ, τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει βουλευσαμένων μετὰ τὴν μάχην μὴ δέχεσθαι τῷ τείχει τοὺς στρατιώτας, ..., called a *polis* in the political sense in the following section of the speech and in the lists set up by the Delphic *naopoioi* (CID II 4.II.35 & 58).
- Kos 35.35: εἰς τὸν Πόντον ὁ οἶνος εἰσάγεται ... ἐκ Πεπαρήθου καὶ Κῶ καὶ Θάσιος καὶ Μενδαῖος καὶ ἐξ ἄλλων τινῶν πόλεων παντοδαπός. This passage indicates (but does not prove) that Peparethos, Kos, Thasos and Mende were considered to be *poleis*, and probably in the urban rather than in the political sense. We cannot, of course, preclude the possibility that ἐξ ἄλλων τινῶν πόλεων means "from some other places (which are *poleis*)". But this use of ἄλλος, see *LSJ* s.v. II 8, is much more common in poetry than in prose cf. Hansen in *CPCActs* 2 (1995) 61 n. 154. Kos is called a *polis* in the political sense at 15.27.
- Megalopolis 16.25: τὴν δὲ Μεγάλην Πόλιν καὶ τὴν Μεσσήνην ... τὰς οὐσας καὶ κατοικουμένας πόλεις..., called a *polis* in the political sense in the lists set up by the Delphic *naopoioi* (CID II 4.III.1 & 50).
- Mende 35.35, quoted *supra* s.v. Kos, called a *polis* in the political sense at Thuc. 4.121.2.
- Messene 16.9, 25, quoted *supra* s.v. Megalopolis, called a *polis* in the political sense in the lists set up by the Delphic *naopoioi* (CID II 4.I.28).
- Methone 9.26, quoted *supra* s.v. Apollonia, called a *polis* in the political sense at IG I³ 61.44–5.
- Olynthos 9.11: τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ Ὀλυνθίοις, τετταράκοντ' ἀπέχων τῆς πόλεως στάδια, εἶπεν (Philip), cf. 9.26, quoted *supra* s.v. Apollonia; 19.194, called a *polis* in the political sense at 3.7.
- Orchomenos 16.25: τὰς μὲν Θεσπιάς καὶ τὸν Ὀρχομενὸν καὶ τὰς Πλαταιὰς κατοικίζεσθαι φῶμεν δεῖν καὶ συμπράττωμεν αὐτοῖς καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἀξιῶμεν (ταῦτα γὰρ καὶ καλὰ καὶ δίκαια μὴ περιορᾶν

πόλεις ἀρχαίας ἐξανεστῶσας) ..., called a *polis* in the political sense at Thuc. 4.91.1 and 93.4.

- Oreos 9.61, 62: ... πρὸς τὰ τεῖχη προσῆσαν οἱ πολέμοιοι. τηνικαῦτα δ' οἱ μὲν ἡμύνοντο, οἱ δὲ προὔδιδον. τῆς πόλεως δ' οὕτως ἀλούσης αἰσχροῦ καὶ κακῶς ..., called a *polis* in the political sense at 9.59–60.
- Pandosia 7.32, quoted *supra* s.v. Boucheta, called a *polis* by Theopompos (*FGrHist* 115 fr. 206), probably in the urban sense, perhaps in the political sense as well. Strabo 7.7.5 classifies Pandosia as a *polichnion*. In 359 a *theorodokos* was appointed to host *theoroi* from Epidauros, which strongly indicates that Pandosia was a *polis* in the political sense (*IG* IV² 95.II.24). Remains of walls show that Pandosia was a walled settlement already in the Classical period (P. Funke, forthcoming in the *CPCInventory*), see *infra* 156.
- Peparethos 35.35, quoted *supra* s.v. Kos. Peparethos is called *tripolis* by Ps.-Skylax 58, cf. Dion. Call. 150 (*GGM* I 243); the three cities on the island were Peparethos (Dem. 35.35), Panormos (Diod. 15.95.2) and Selinous (*IG* XII 8 661.3, C2 A.D.). There can be no doubt that Peparethos was a *polis* in the political sense, see the Athenian tribute lists (*IG* I³ 269.III.10) and the list of members of the Second Athenian Naval League (*IG* II² 43A.85). Whether the island had one or three *poleis* is of no consequence for this investigation. For this problem see Flensted-Jensen & Hansen in *CPCPapers* 3 (1996) 156 and Reger in *CPCActs* 4 (1997) 453–4.
- Pherai 7.32: Φεραίων μὲν ἀφήρηται τὴν πόλιν καὶ φρουρὰν ἐν τῇ ἀκροπόλει κατέστησεν (Philip), called a *polis* in the political sense at Thuc. 2.22.3.
- Plataiai 59.99: αἰσθόμενοι δ' οἱ Πλαταιεῖς ἔνδον ὄντας τοὺς Θηβαίους τῆς νυκτὸς καὶ ἐξαπίνης [αὐτῶν] τὴν πόλιν ἐν εἰρήνῃ κατειλημμένην, προσεβοήθουν, with five other occurrences in the passage 59.98–103; cf. also 16.25, quoted *supra* s.v. Orchomenos. Plataiai is called a *polis* in the political sense at Thuc. 3.57.2.
- Thasos 35.35, quoted *supra* s.v. Kos, called a *polis* in the political sense in a C61 dedication (*IG* XII 8 356).
- Thebai 5.10: τὴν δὲ Θηβαίων πόλιν διοικεῖν (Philip), 18.216: εἰς τὴν πόλιν εἰσελθόντος τοῦ στρατοπέδου, *Fr.* 13.3, Sauppe: τὴν μὲν πόλιν ἐξώρνευεν ἐκ τῶν θεμελίων, called a *polis* in the political sense in a C4 proxeny decree (*SEG* 28 465).
- Thespiiai 16.25, quoted *supra* s.v. Orchomenos, called a *polis* in the political sense in the C51 Athenian decree relating to Thespiiai (*IG* I³ 72.6).

Troizen *Ep. 2.18*: εἷς τε γὰρ πόλιν ἦλθον ... ἔστι δ' ἡ Τροιζηνίων αὕτη, called *polis* in the political sense in the lists set up by the Delphic *naopoioi* (*CID* II 4.1.3 & 9).

For twenty-four of these *poleis* the evidence leaves no doubt that they were *poleis* in the political as well as in the urban sense. The only problematical towns are the three *poleis* in Epeiros: Boucheta, Elateia and Pandosia. The Demosthenes passage about Philip's conquest of the three *poleis* in Kassopia is quoted *supra* s.v. Boucheta. The same event is described in Theopompos fr. 206, and, again, the three settlements are called *poleis*, only a fourth is added to the list: Θεόπομπος γοῦν ἐν μγ' τέτταρας πόλεις φησὶν εἶναι τῶν Κασσωπαίων, ἀλλ' οὐ τρεῖς ὥσπερ ὁ Δημοσθένης, Ἐλάτρειάν τε καὶ Πανδοσίαν καὶ Βιτίαν καὶ Βούχετα. Here, too, *polis* is probably used in the urban sense. The problem is that no source describes these settlements as being *poleis* in the political sense, that we know next to nothing about their social and political organisation, and that Ps.-Skylax 31 lists the Kassopians as people settled in *komai*, not in *poleis*: μετὰ δὲ Θεσπρωτίαν Κασσωπία ἐστὶν ἔθνος. οἰκοῦσι δὲ καὶ οὗτοι κατὰ κόμας. *Kome* and *polis* are mostly mutually exclusive site-classifications.¹⁰ Yet the difference between Ps.-Skylax and Demosthenes is not necessarily a contradiction. First, Ps.-Skylax' description of the settlement pattern of Western Greece may concern the early fourth century B.C.¹¹ whereas Demosthenes' concerns the year 343/2 and we know from other sources that the fourth century B.C. is a period in which *polis* formation took place in Epeiros. Second, it is characteristic of all the west Greek regions, both Epeiros, Aitolia and Akarnania, that the indigenous population was (mostly) settled in *komai* but that the coast was dotted with colonies which were *poleis*.¹² All three settlements are described by Demosthenes as colonies of Elis; and we must keep in mind that Ps.-Skylax' enumeration of *poleis* in each region is hardly ever exhaustive. Other *poleis* in Epeiros omitted from his account are Batia, mentioned by Theopompos (fr. 206) and Bouthrotos, mentioned by Hekataios (fr. 106).¹³ Thus, there is no reason to doubt that Bouchetion, Elateia and Pandosia were *poleis* in the urban sense. And there is no reason to doubt either that they were *poleis* in the political sense too. They are explicitly described by Demosthenes as *apoikiai*, and an *apoikia* seems regularly to have been a *polis*. All three settlements were fortified;¹⁴ furthermore, Pandosia had a *theorodokos* to host *theoroi* sent out from Epidauros, which is in itself an indication of *polis* status in the political sense.¹⁵

10 See Hansen in *CPCPapers* 2 (1995) 50–2.

11 See Flensted-Jensen & Hansen in *CPCPapers* 3 (1996) 137–8.

12 P. Funke in *CPCActs* 4 (1997) 168–72, 176.

13 See M.H. Hansen, "Hekataios' Use of the Word Polis in his Periegesis," *CPCPapers* 4 (1997) 20.

14 See also N.G.L. Hammond, *Epirus* (1967) 481–2.

15 See Perlman in *CPCActs* 2 (1995) 135 with *CPCActs* 3 (1996) 273 n. 25.

2. *Isokrates*

In Isokrates' speeches and letters¹⁶ there are about 798 attestations of the word *polis*. It goes without saying that the majority of occurrences, altogether some 435, concern the Athenian *polis*; in 67 passages the reference is to the Lakedaimonioi or the Spartiatai as they are sometimes called. In 229 passages the reference is to an unnamed *polis* or the *polis* in general, and 82 attestations only concern named *poleis* other than Athens.¹⁷ Again, in Isokrates the word *polis* is used in the political sense much more frequently than in the urban or territorial senses. There are some eight passages only in which the territorial sense is either the principal meaning or a clearly detectable connotation.¹⁸ In some thirty-seven passages *polis* means town, or town is a connotation that goes with the political sense of the word.¹⁹ In the rest of the attestations *polis* is used either exclusively in its political sense, or the political sense seems to prevail over the other two.

Apart from Athens, twenty-seven named communities are called *polis*, nine in the political sense only,²⁰ eighteen in the urban sense, and of these fifteen are described as *poleis* in the political sense in another passage of the corpus,²¹ whereas three are attested as *poleis* in the urban sense only. The evidence for the *polis* status of the eighteen communities is as follows:

Amphipolis	5.2: περὶ τῆς πόλεως ταύτης καὶ τῆς χώρας, called <i>polis</i> in the political sense at Dem. 1.5, 8.
Argos	5.51: ἐξ οὗπερ τὴν πόλιν οἰκοῦσιν, called <i>polis</i> in the political sense at 4.64; 5.30, 51; 8.100; 12.72, 80, 256; 16.1; Ep. 3.2.
Chios	6.53: Πεδάρτιος μὲν γὰρ εἰς Χίον εἰσπλεύσας τὴν πόλιν αὐτῶν διέσωσε (sc. πολιορκουμένην), called <i>polis</i> in the political sense at Thuc. 8.6.4.

16 I follow the now generally accepted view that the letters are authentic. For a recent survey of the literature, see R.N. Gaines, "Isocrates, Ep. 6.8," *Hermes* 118 (1990) 165 n. 1.

17 There are some passages in which *polis* denotes more than one *polis*, e.g., Ep. 3.2: τὴν πόλιν τὴν ἡμετέραν καὶ τὴν Λακεδαιμονίων καὶ τὴν Θηβαίων καὶ τὴν Ἀργείων.

18 5.51 quoted *infra* s.v. Argos. Here the word ὁμόρους indicates that "country" or "territory" is a connotation that goes with the sense of town. 6.68: πλείους δὲ φεύγουσι νῦν ἐκ μᾶς πόλεως ἢ πρότερον ἐξ ἀπάσης τῆς Πελοποννήσου. 6.73: τοὺς γονέας ... ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἐκπέμψαι, τοὺς μὲν εἰς Σικελίαν, ... 14.35: τοὺς μὲν ἀποκτείναντες, τοὺς δὲ ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἐκβαλόντες διτηρᾶσθαι τὰς οὐσίας. 16.4: κάκεῖνος ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἐξέπεσεν. 16.8: τοὺς δ' ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἐξέβαλον. 19.19: φυγῆς ἡμῖν γενομένης ἐκ τῆς πόλεως. Add, perhaps, 14.28 quoted *infra* s.v. Thebes.

19 Clear attestations referring to Athens are, 4.96; 6.43; 7.46; 12.50, 66; 14.40; 15.307; 18.48. Attestations referring to *poleis* in general are: 6.52; 10.50; 10.68 (barbarian); 12.44; 12.46bis; 12.47; 12.69; 15.82; 20.9. For *polis* in the sense of town referring to other *poleis* see *infra*.

20 Elis (8.100); Korinth (8.100); Korkyra (15.109); Melos (πολιχνιον, 12.89); Methymna (Ep. 7.8 & 9); Mytilene (Ep. 8.3bis, 4bis); Phleious (8.100); Seriphos (19.9); Syracuse (3.23); Thespiiai (8.17).

21 Argos, Mantinea, Messene, Plataiai, Salamis in Cyprus, Siphnos, Sparta, Thebes, and Troy.

- Korkyra** 15.107–8: τοσαύτας ἤρρηκε πόλεις κατὰ κράτος, ὅσας οὐδεὶς πώποτε τῶν ἐστρατηγηκότων ... καὶ τούτων ἐνίας, ὧν ληφθεισῶν ἅπας ὁ τόπος ὁ περιέχων οἰκεῖος ἠναγκάσθη τῇ πόλει γενέσθαι. τηλικαύτην ἐκάστη δύναμιν εἶχεν. Τίς γὰρ οὐκ οἶδε Κόρκυραν μὲν ... Σάμον δὲ ... Σηστόν δὲ καὶ Κριθώτην ... Ποτεΐδαιαν δὲ καὶ Τορώνην ... ὡς ἐκεῖνος ἀπάσας κτησάμενος παρέδωκεν ὑμῖν. – In τοσαύτας ἤρρηκε πόλεις κατὰ κράτος *polis* in the urban sense is at least a connotation, whereas it must be *polis* in the sense of state which lies behind the pronouns ἐνίας, ἐκάστης and ὡς ἀπάσας.
- Krithote** 15.107–8, quoted *supra* s.v. Korkyra.
- Mantineia** 4.126: τὴν μὲν γε Μαντινέων πόλιν ... ἀνάστατον ἐποίησαν, called *polis* in the political sense at 8.99–100.
- Messene** 6.22: ἀπέκτειναν Κρησφόντην τὸν οἰκιστὴν μὲν τῆς πόλεως, κύριον δὲ τῆς χώρας. 12.45: Λακεδαιμόνιοι ... ἔχοντες πόλιν ἄλλοτρίαν καὶ χώραν οὐ μόνον ἱκανὴν, ἀλλ' ὅσῃν οὐδεμία πόλις τῶν Ἑλληνίδων ..., called *polis* in the political sense at 6.87.
- Paros** 19.19: ἐφρουρεῖτο μὲν γὰρ ἡ χώρα, συγκατελιηφότες δ' ἦσαν τινες τῶν ἡμετέρων φυγάδων τὴν πόλιν..., called *polis* in the political sense in two C4 proxeny decrees (*IG* XII 5 110.6, 12; 111.6).
- Plataiai** 14.7: τὴν χώραν ἡμῶν κατανεμένῃται καὶ τὴν πόλιν κατεσκάψασιν. 46: οἵτινες καὶ πόλεως καὶ χώρας καὶ χρημάτων ἐν μιᾷ στερηθέντες ἡμέρα ... ἀλῆται καὶ πτωχοὶ καθέσταμεν. 56: ἅπαντας ὑμᾶς ἱκετεύομεν ἀποδοῦναι τὴν χώραν ἡμῖν καὶ τὴν πόλιν called *polis* in the political sense at 8.17; 14.1, 8, 9, 13, 16, 26, 36, 52.
- Poteidaia** 15.107–8, quoted *supra* s.v. Korkyra.
- Salamis in Cyprus** 3.28: Τεῦκρος ... τὴν πόλιν αὐτοῖς ἔκτισε καὶ τὴν χώραν κατένειμεν. 9.19: τῆς πόλεως κατοικισθείσης, called *polis* in the political sense at 3.32, 56, 63; 4.141; 9.20, 32, 43, 46, 47, 49, 61, 64, 65.
- *.
- Samos** 15.107–8, quoted *supra* s.v. Korkyra.
- Sestos** 15.107–8, quoted *supra* s.v. Korkyra.
- Siphnos** 19.38: ἔδοξε τοῖς συμφυγάσιν ἐπιχειρεῖν τῇ πόλει μετὰ τῶν ἐπικούρων. 39: δυστυχησάντων γὰρ ἡμῶν ἐν τῇ προσβολῇ τῇ πρὸς τὴν πόλιν καὶ τῆς ἀναχωρήσεως ..., called *polis* in the political sense at 19.10.
- Sparta** 5.48: οὐκ ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ περὶ τῶν καρπῶν, ἀλλ' ἐν μέσῃ τῇ πόλει, called *polis* in the political sense at 10.63; 12.41, 47, 65, 161, 259, etc. Cf. *Hdt.* 7.234.2.

- Thebes 14.28: τηλικαύτην πόλιν οἰκοῦντες, called *polis* in the political sense at 4.64; 5.30; 6.104; 14.18, 28, 33, 34, 36; *Ep.* 3.2.
- Torone 15.107–8, quoted *supra* s.v. Korkyra.
- Troy 4.83: οὐ μὲν περὶ μίαν πόλιν ἔτι δέκα διέτριψαν. 4.181: τὴν πόλιν ἀνάστατον ἐποίησαν. 4.186: μίαν πόλιν ἐλόντες, called *polis* in the political sense at 12.83.

The references to Troy and Messene are exclusively to the mythical period, but that makes no difference in the eyes of a fourth-century author who believed that both communities were *poleis* in the contemporary sense. Troy, however, ought perhaps to be left out in this context, since it was traditionally considered to be a barbarian *polis*, cf. Lycurg. 1.62. All the *poleis* listed above are indisputably *poleis* in the political sense.

3. The Other Orators

In the other orators *polis* in the urban sense, or with the urban sense as a connotation, is used thirty-six times about ten different named nucleated settlements. Leaving aside Athens²² the evidence for the other nine is as follows:

- Amphipolis Aeschin. 2.27: Ἀμφιπολιτῶν αὐτῶν ἐχόντων τότε τὴν πόλιν καὶ τὴν χώραν καρπουμένων. 28: πολιορκία τῆς πόλεως, called *polis* in the political sense at Dem. 1.5, 8.
- Kirra Aeschin. 3.108: καὶ αὐτοῖς ἀναιρεῖ [ἡ Πυθία] πολεμεῖν Κιρραίοις ... καὶ τὴν χώραν αὐτῶν καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἐκπορθήσαντας καὶ αὐτοὺς ἀνδραποδισμένους ἀναθεῖναι τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι τῷ Πυθίῳ ... 109: καὶ συναθροίσαντες δύναμιν πολλὴν τῶν Ἀμφικτυόνων, ἐξηνδραποδίσαντο τοὺς ἀνθρώπους καὶ τὸν λιμένα καὶ τὴν πόλιν αὐτῶν κατέσκαψαν καὶ τὴν χώραν [αὐτῶν] καθιέρωσαν κατὰ τὴν μαντείαν, see also the oracle quoted at 3.112 (= Fontenrose Q 71). See *infra*.
- Melos Andoc. 4.23: τὴν πόλιν ἀνάστατον πεποίηκεν (Alkibiades), called *polis* in the political sense at Thuc. 5.87.1; 5.112.2.
- Methone Din. 1.14 = 3.17: καὶ Τιμοθέῳ ... Σάμον λαβόντι καὶ Μεθώνην καὶ Πύδναν καὶ Ποτεΐδαιαν καὶ πρὸς ταύταις ἑτέρας εἴκοσι πόλεις, οὐκ ἐποίησασθ' ὑπόλογον, called *polis* in the urban and political sense combined, called *polis* in the political sense at *IG* I³ 64.44–5.
- Poteidaia Din. 1.14 = 3.17, quoted *supra* s.v. Methone, called *polis* in the political sense in a C4f proxyen decree (*SEG* 38 662.4, 13).

²² There are altogether 27 attestations of *polis* in the sense of town denoting Athens: Aeschin. 1.48, 127, 170; 3.156, 209; Andoc. 1.75, 99, 103, 105, 106; 4.23; Ant. 5.93; 6.39, fr. 58, Sauppe; Din. 1.37, 64, 76; Lycurg. 1.1, 38, 86, 121, 145, 150; Lys. 2.37; 3.32.

Pydna	Din. 1.14 = 3.17, quoted <i>supra</i> s.v. Methone.
Rhenaia	<i>Hyp. fr. 70, Jensen</i> : ἐπιφέρουσι Δήλιοι τοῖς Ῥηνεῦσιν αἰτίαν ... καὶ γράφονται τὴν πόλιν αὐτῶν ἀσεβείας ... τριάκοντα σταδίων ὄντων ἀπὸ τῆς διαβάσεως πρὸς τὴν πόλιν τὴν Ῥηναίων ... <i>Polis</i> is here used first in the political and then in the urban sense.
Samos	Din. 1.14 = 3.17, quoted <i>supra</i> s.v. Methone, called <i>polis</i> in the political sense in a C41 citizenship decree, <i>SEG</i> 1 351.9
Thebai	<i>Hyp. 6.17</i> : ἐώρων γὰρ τὴν μὲν π[ό]λιν τῶν Θηβαίων οἰκτρῶς ἡφα[ν]ισμένην ἐξ ἀνθρώπων, [τὴν δ' ἀ]κρόπολιν αὐτῆς φρουρομένην ..., Din. 1.18: τὴν Θηβαίων πόλιν περιεῖδεν ἀνάστατον γενομένην, called <i>polis</i> in the political sense at Din. 1.72–3.

Of these eight towns the only one to be further discussed is Kirrha. The context is the so-called First Sacred War, allegedly fought ca. 596–86 B.C. and resulting in the complete destruction of Kirrha.²³ Aischines describes Kirrha as a *polis* in the urban sense, but from his detailed account (3.106–24) it is obvious that he took the town to be a *polis* in the political sense too. It may be doubted whether Kirrha really was a *polis* in the early 6th century and whether the First Sacred War was ever fought.²⁴ But that is of no consequence in this context. What matters is that Aischines did not question the tradition, but believed Archaic Kirrha to have been a *polis* both in the urban and the political sense. Thus, Kirrha probably belongs in the same category as Isokrates' references to Troy and Messene in the Heroic Age.

The overall conclusion of this investigation is that whenever the orators use the word *polis* in the urban sense, the reference is to a community which was believed to be a *polis* in the political sense too.

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23 Hekataios (*FGrHist* 1) fr. 115; *Marm. Par.* 37 (*FGrHist* 239); Paus. 10.37.4–8; Plut. *Sol.* 11. K. Tausend, *Amphiktyonie und Symmachie* (Stuttgart 1992) 45–7.

24 N. Robertson, "The Myth of the First Sacred War," *CQ* 28 (1978) 38–73; C. Morgan, *Athletes and Oracles* (Cambridge 1990) 135.

THE USE OF THE WORD *POLIS* IN INSCRIPTIONS

by

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The present study is an investigation of the use of *polis* in inscriptions. It is based on all occurrences of the word in the Archaic and Classical periods, but focuses on attestations where *polis* is used in the sense of “town”. Beginning with a study of the literary sources the Polis Centre has established the so-called *lex Hafniensis de civitate*: the observation that, when the reference is to a Hellenic community, the word *polis* in the sense of “town” almost invariably denotes settlements which were also *poleis* in the sense of “political community” (see 173ff *infra*). As the following investigation shows, this observation applies to inscriptions as well, and there is no noticeable difference between the use of the word *polis* in epigraphical and in literary sources.

It is of great importance to find out how the word *polis* is used in inscriptions, firstly because inscriptions in which the word *polis* occurs almost invariably are official documents, and secondly because they allow us to study non-Athenian material. As exhaustively as possible we have gone through all inscriptions of the Archaic and Classical periods (down to ca. 300).² Each time the word *polis* occurred we have noted whether it was used in the sense of “akropolis”, “town”, “territory”, or “political community”. Including restorations the word *polis* is used approximately 1450 times in inscriptions down to 300 B.C., ca. 425 times in Attic inscriptions and ca. 1025 times in inscriptions from the rest of the Greek world. The word is used ca. 1210 times about 196 named communities.³ The sense of akropolis is very common in Attic inscriptions down to the early fourth century B.C., but virtu-

- 1 When we first started working on this article, we shared the different regions between us and each of us went through the inscriptions from those regions. Afterwards we scrutinised each others' findings, and thus we have all been through all the inscriptions. We thank each other warmly for the collaboration.
- 2 Since many inscriptions are dated to the second half of the the fourth century B.C., or the late fourth century B.C., or just the fourth century B.C. it would be awkward to stop at 323 B.C. and, to be on the safe side, we preferred to include the early Hellenistic period and stop at 300 B.C.
- 3 For ca. 150 out of these 1210 *poleis* one single named community is explicitly called a *polis* in at least one inscription. Another ca. 100 *poleis* are recorded only in inscriptions in which *polis* is just a heading of a list of named communities. By far the longest such list is the one appended to the so-called Charter of the Second Athenian Naval League (*IG* II² 43 A79–90, B7–38). In the fifth-century Athenian tribute lists (*IG* I³ 259–290) the only occurrence of *polis* in a heading is in *IG* I³ 285.7 where, however, πόλις is completely restored. In the tribute lists from 434/3 onwards, πόλις does occur in some of the sub-headings, the so-called “rubrics”, and the communities listed after such sub-headings are included in our count.

ally unattested outside Athens.⁴ The sense of “country” or “territory” is very rare in all inscriptions.⁵ The sense of “political community” abounds and counts for ca. 85% of all attestations. We have found c. one hundred occurrences of *polis* in which “town” is either the principal sense or a connotation. In one case the reference is to an unknown *polis*.⁶ The other ninety-nine attestations to altogether forty-eight named *poleis* are quoted below.

Before we list our findings a note of warning must be sounded: it is possible to give an approximate estimate only of the number of times the word *polis* occurs in inscriptions. First of all we cannot guarantee that we have seen every published inscription. Second, we have included many inscriptions in which the word *polis* is restored. In some cases it is confidently restored, but of course we cannot be absolutely certain. Finally, we have left out undated inscriptions some of which may actually be of the Archaic and Classical periods.

As can be seen in the list below, most of the cases are unproblematic. There are, however, five cases that are not clear cut: – It is contested whether Helisson was a political community after its incorporation into Mantinea ca. 370.⁷ – Ialysos and Lindos are both called *polis* in inscriptions of the fourth century, but some scholars would argue that these two communities were not *poleis* after the synoecism of Rhodos in 408, but merely demes of Rhodos. However, it could be argued that they persisted as *poleis*, although as dependencies of Rhodos.⁸ – Finally, the Lycian communities of Kadyanda and Tlos are difficult. Due to the paucity of sources concerning the status of these two communities it cannot be shown beyond doubt that they were political communities. On the other hand, it is not unlikely that they were political communities like other Lycian settlements such as Xanthos and Pinara.

However, not one of the communities called *polis* in the urban sense can be shown *not* to have been political communities as well, and in the overwhelming majority of the cases the settlements can be shown to have been urban as well political communities. Thus, the use of the word *polis* in inscriptions conforms to what is found in literary sources.

- 4 In Attic inscriptions there are 115 attestations of *polis* referring to the Akropolis of Athens, plus the reference to the akropolis of Erchia in *SEG* 21 541. Outside Athens the only occurrences we have found are *IG* IV 492.3 (Mykenai); ?*SEG* 41 725B (Eretria); *IG* XII 1 977A.35,39 (Lindos); *I.Ephesos* 1.2 (Ephesos). In *I.Délos* 104–24.9 *polis* is completely restored. In *SEG* 26 1282.5–6 (Erythrai) the sense is “town” and not “akropolis”, see *infra*.
- 5 One unquestionable attestation of *polis* in the sense of territory is *SEG* 36 750.15 and 19 (340–30 B.C., Mytilene): 15: αἱ μέγ κέ τις δίκας γενομένας κατ τὸν νόμον φύγη ἐκ τῆς πόλιος, 19: φυνγαδεύθην ἐκ τῆς πόλιος. For other attestations see, e.g., *IG* XII 2 6 (324 B.C., Mytilene); *SEG* 1 352–60 (322–06 B.C., Samos); *I.Cret.* IV 144.9 (C5m–C4e, Gortyn); *Syll.*³ 344.75 (303 B.C., Teos).
- 6 *Syll.*³ 1164.1: τὰν ἐμ πόλι οἰκίαν (C4–3, found at Dodone).
- 7 T.H. Nielsen, “A Survey of Dependent *Poleis* in Classical Arkadia”, *CPCPapers* 3 (1996) 67–70.
- 8 For different types of dependency, see M.H. Hansen, “A Typology of Dependent *Poleis*”, *CPCPapers* 4 (1997) 29–37.

Polis in the Sense of Town**Argos**

SEG 11 1084.6 (ca. 317 BC)

παργεγένηνται τοῖ Παλλαντέες ποὶ τὰν πόλιν τῶν Ἀργείων

Argos is called *polis* in the political sense in the same decree (SEG 11 1084.25), and by Thucydides (5.29.1).**Arkesine**

IG XII 7 5.6 (ca. 357 BC)

τῶν ξένων τῶν ἀφικνουμένων εἰς τὴν πόλιν

IG XII 7 11.6 (C4/3)

σεσιτήγηκεν εἰς τὴν πόλιν

Arkesine is called *polis* in the political sense in a proxeny decree of the fourth century (IG XII 7 6.5).**Athens**

CEG 1 272.4 (470–60 BC)

τένδε πόλιν νέμεται (= IG I³ 850, Lazzarini, *Formule* no. 746)IG I³ 93.41 (415 BC)

φροδοσι τε[μ πόλιν ἔ τε]ν χώραν

IG I³ 136.4 (413/2? BC)

διαπομπαιον ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως

IG I³ 1401.7–8 (475–50 BC)

Λυσίθεος Μικίωνα φιλεῖν φεσι μάλισστα τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει. ἀνδρεῖος γάρ ἐστι

Meiggs-Lewis, *GHI* 23.4 (480 BC) τη[μ] μὲν πόλιν παρ]ακατ[αθέσ]θαιTod, *GHI* 204.34 (C4)

καὶ οὐκ ἀναστήσω Ἀθήνας οὐδὲ Σπάρτην οὐδὲ Πλαταιὰς οὐδὲ τῶν ἄλλων πόλεων τῶν συμμαχεσαμένων οὐδεμίαν

Athens is called *polis* in the political sense by, e.g., Herodotos (5.97.1), and Xenophon (*Hell.* 2.2.14).**Chaleion**IG IX².3 717A.4 (450 BC)

Πλὸν ἐ(λ) λιμένος τὸ κατὰ πόλιν

Chaleion is called *polis* in the political sense in a late-fourth or early-third century alliance between Chaleion and Tritaia (IG IX².3 739.9).**Chersonesos Taurika**

DGE 173.3 (C4I/C3e)

ἥρωας ὅσοι πόλιν καὶ χώραν καὶ τεῖχῃ ἔχοντι τὰ Χερσονασιτῶν

Chersonesos is called *polis* in the political sense in the same inscription (a public oath) (DGE 173.5)

Chios*Sokolowski* 120.13 (C4)

[ἔως ἂν θέληι οἰκεῖ]ν ἐν τῇ πόλει]

BCH 3 (1879) 230–4 (C5)

A10–1: κήρυκας διαπέμψαντες ἐς τὰς χώρας κη[ρ]υσσόντων καὶ διὰ τῆς πόλεως ἀδηνέως γεγωνέοντες

Chios is called *polis* in the political sense in a *lex sacra* of the early fourth century (= *DGE* 694.7 = *SEG* 22 498), and by Herodotos (2.178.2)**Eleutherna***I.Cret* II.xii.16.Ab.3(= *Nom* I.26) (C6/C5)

[--] μὴ ἰν ἀπαμίαι δ'ἰν πόλι

Eleutherna is called *polis* in a law of ca. 500 (*I.Cret.* II.xii.14a5), presumably in the political sense, cf. κ[ό]σμο[ι] in l. 6.**Ephesos***I.Ephesos* Ia 1.A1–2 (C6)ἐκ τῶν δ[ώρων] χρυσὸ ἐκ πόλεως ἡνείχ-
[τθ]ησανEphesos is called *polis* in the political sense in an early-fourth century honorary decree (*I.Délos* 73.1)**Epidauros***IG* IV(2).1 115.14 (C4/C3)

ξύλω]ν ἀναγωγᾶς ἐκ πόλιος

IG IV(2).1 115.25 (C4/C3)

ξύλων ἀναγωγᾶς ἐκ πόλιος

IG IV(2).1 116.20 (C4/C3)

ἐν ταῖ ὁδοῖ ταῖ εἰς πόλιν ἀγοῦσ[αι]

IAEpid 50.14 (330–300 BC)

ξύλων ἀ]ναγωγᾶς [ἐ]κ πόλιος

SEG 25 383.A.II.134 (370 BC)

ξύλ]ων ἐκ [πόλιος

Epidauros is called *polis* in the political sense in a honorary decree of ca. 350 (*SEG* 26 445.2), and by Xenophon (*Hell.* 6.5.29).**Eresos***IG* XII 2 526a3 (ca. 333 BC)τοῖς πολ[ι]ορκήθε[ντας ἐν τῇ πό]λι (that is the reading in *SGDI* 281A.2. *IG* XII 2 526a3 has πολ]ιορκήθε[ντας ἰς τὰν ἀ]κ[ρ]όπολιν)*IG* XII 2 526a8 (ca. 333 BC)τοῖς μὲν πολίταις παρέλομενος τὰ ὄπλα ἐξε-
κλαῖσε ἐκ τῆς πόλιος πανδάμι*IG* XII 2 526a11 (333 BC)

τὰν δὲ πόλιν καὶ τὰ ἱρ[α] διαρπάσαις

IG XII 2 526b.2–3 (C4s)[παρῆ]λετ[ο] τὰ [ὄπλα καὶ] ἐξεκλαῖσε ἐκ τῆς
[πόλι]ος πανδάμι

IG XII 2 526b.10 (C4s)
 IG XII 2 526d.7 (306–01 BC)
 IG XII 2 526d.30 (306–01 BC)
 IG XII 2 526d.37 (324 BC)

τὰ[ν] δὲ πόλιν καὶ τὰ ἱρα [δια]ρπάσαις
 [τῶν ἐ]μ πό[λει οἰκη]θέντων
 τῶ[ν ἐ]μ πόλι οἰκηθέντων
 τῶν ἐμ πόλι οἰκηθέντων

Eresos is called *polis* in the political sense in the same decree (IG XII 2 526b.30).

Eretria

IG XII 9 196.11 (C4)

ἀναθεῖναι, ὅπου ἂν βούληται τῶν ἱερῶν τῶν
 ἐν Ἐρετρίαι ἢ τῆς πόλεως

SEG 41 725B (525–500 BC)

ἐπὶ Γόλο ἄρχ[ο]ντος· ἐν πόλε[ι]

Eretria is called *polis* in the political sense in an alliance between Eretria and Histiaia of ca. 400 (IG XII 9 188.7), and by Demosthenes (18.79).

Erythrai

SEG 26 1282.5–6 (ca. 387 BC)

μὴ ἐξεῖνα[ι τ]ῶν στρατηγῶν διαλλάξαι μηθε-
 νὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἐν τῇ πόλει–ἐν τῇ πόλει in lines
 5–6 must mean “in the city” (or town) not “on
 the Akropolis” (as suggested by, e.g., Ph. Hard-
 ing in *Translated Documents of Greece and
 Rome* [Cambridge 1985] no. 28). In Attic in-
 scriptions, *polis* is used without the article when
 denoting the Akropolis, but with the article when
 it denotes the community or the town (e.g. IG I³
 850.5; 1401.7–8. Again, in IG I³ 136.4 ἀπὸ τῆς
 πόλεος denotes the city, not the Akropolis. – The
 procession at the Bendis festival starts from the
prytaneion, not from the Akropolis, and moves
 towards the Peiraieus. The reference 136.4 is
 misplaced in the Index to IG I³). For the rare use
 in literary sources of *polis* with article denoting
 the akropolis, see, e.g., Aeschin. 1.97 and Wyse
ad Is. 5.44). The *stasis* in Erythrai is between
 the oligarchs (?) who control the city and the
 democrats (?) in control of the territory. This
 decree anticipates the democrats’ conquest of
 the town and regulates what is supposed to hap-
 pen after that event. For a judicious interpreta-
 tion of this incident, see H.-J. Gehrke, *Stasis*
 (München 1985) 68.

Erythrai is called a *polis* in the political sense in
 a honorary decree of 357/5 BC (*I.Erythrai* 8.4–
 5).

Gortyn*I.Cret* IV 45B.1 (C5)(= *Nom* II.69)

-].ας ἐς πόλιν η.ε.γαν

I.Cret IV 72.IV.32 (C5m)*I.Cret* IV 72.VIII.2 (C5m)(= *Nom* II.51)

'τέγανς μὲν τὰνς ἐν πόλι

αἱ κ' ἔι ἐν πόλι

I.Cret IV 79.9–10 (C5m)

[τοῖς ἐμ πόλι F]οικίονσι

I.Cret IV 144.9–10 (C5m/c4e)

πάντα τοῖς ἐμ πόλι Φοικίονσι

Gortyn is called *polis* in the political sense in a decree of the mid-fifth century (*I.Cret* IV 79.16).

Halikarnassos*SEG* 43 713.33 (425–350 BC)*SEG* 43 713.37*SEG* 43 713.45

οἰκίην τὴμ Μέλωνος τοῦ Σιληνοῦ τὴν ἐμ πόλει

τὴν οἰκίην [τ]ὴν ἐμ πόλει

οἰκίην ἐμ πόλει

Halikarnassos is called *polis* in the political sense in a honorary decree of the first half of the fourth century (*IG* II² 142.9).

Helisson*IPArk* 9.6 (= *SEG* 37 340, C4)μινόνσας τὰς [πό]λιος τῶν Ἑλισφασίων ὥσπερ
ἔχε[ι] ἰν πάντα χρόνον

Helisson is called *polis* in the political sense in the same inscription, an early-fourth century *sympoliteia* between Mantinea and Helisson (*SEG* 37 340.5), see *infra* page 196–7, and again implicitly in l. 9.

Herakleia by Siris*SGDI* 4629.I.64 (C4I)*SGDI* 4629.I.70 (C4I)*SGDI* 4629.II.14 (C4I)

τὰς ἡοδῶ τὰς ἀγώσας ἔκ τε πόλιος καὶ ἐκ

τὰς ἡοδῶ τὰς ἐκ πόλιος ... ἀγώσας

τὰν βουβῆτιν τὰν διὰ τῶν γυνῶν ἐκ πόλιος ῥέω-
σαν . .

Herakleia is called *polis* in the political sense in the same inscription, the Herakleia Tables (*SGDI* 4629.I.157).

Ialysos*Syll.*³ 338.16–7(300 B.C.) ἐπὶ τὰς καταβάσιος τὰ[ς] ἐξ Ἀχαΐ-
ας πόλιος

Ialysos is called *polis* in the political sense by Herodotos (1.144.3)

Iasos*I.Iasos* I 2.11–12 (C41)*I.Iasos* I 2.17–18

ἀποδώσει[ν] τὰς ἄκρα[ς] καὶ τὴν πόλιν]
ἀποδόντας δὲ κομίσασθαι παρὰ Μαχάονος τὰς
ἄκρας [καὶ] τὰ ἐν ταῖς ἄκραις ὄντα καὶ τὴμ
πόλιν

I.Iasos I 2.20

τοῖς τούτων στρατιώταις [κ]α[τ]οικοῦσιν ἐν
τῇ πόλει

I.Iasos I 2.29

καὶ τοὺς ἐν τῇ πόλει κατοικοῦντας

I.Iasos I 2.54

διαφυλάξω [τὴν πόλιν τὴν Ἰασέων]

Iasos is called *polis* in the political sense in an inscription which deals with plots against Mausollos, 357/5 B.C. (*I.Iasos* I 1.3).

Idalion*SGDI* 60.A1 (C5s)

ὅτε τὰ(ν) πτόλιν Ἡδάλιον κατεφόρκων Μᾶδοι
κὰς Κετιέφες

Idalion is called *polis* in the political sense in the same inscription (a treaty) (*SGDI* 60.A7).

Issa*Syll.*³ 141.4–5 (ca. 385 BC)

τειχίζαντας τὰν πόλιν τᾶς πόλιος οἰκόπ[εδον
ἐν ἑκαστον τᾶς] τετειχισμένας

*Syll.*³ 141.10 (ca. 385 BC)

λαβεῖν δὲ τοὺς ἐφέροντας τᾶ[ς] πόλιος οἰκό-
πεδον ἐν]

The inscription (*Syll.*³ 141) is a decree passed by the *demos* and testifies to Issa being a *polis* in the political sense.

Kadyanda

SEG 36 1216 2–3, 4 (340–34 BC) [Κανδα]υδέοις τῆς ἐμπο[ρίας τῆς] οὔσης [ἐ]ν
τῇ π[όλ]ει

The use of the city-ethnic, also attested in *SEG* 20 174.5 (224/3 B.C.), indicates that Kadyanda was a *polis* in the political sense. The evidence for Kadyanda being a *polis* in the political sense is thus quite scant. Moreover, it is uncertain to what degree Kadyanda was hellenised by the 330s.

Kalymna*Tit.Cal.* 11.9 (C4/3)

ὅμως] μὲν τοῦ [δοθέντος στεφάνου ἐν τ]ᾷ
πόλ[ει ἡ ἀναγγελία γίνηται --]

Kalymna is called *polis* in the political sense in a decree of ca. 300 B.C. (*I.Knidos* I 221A.15, 35–6).

Kolophon

AJP 56 (1935) no. 1,
pp. 359–71 (311–06 BC)

Col.I.9: τὴν παλαιὰν πόλιν .. σ[υ]ντειχίσαι,
Col.I.9: καὶ τοῖς ἡρώσιν οἱ κατέχουσιν ἡμῶν
τὴν πόλιν καὶ τὴν χώραν

AJP 56 (1935) no. 3,
pp. 377–9 (C4)

I.11: Πυρρίας Μητροδώρου Σινοπεὺς μετο[ι]-
κῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει πρότερόν τε πολλὰς χρείας
παρέσχηται τῷ δήμῳ

Kolophon is called *polis* in the political sense in
an inscription of the late fourth century (*AJP* 56
[1935] no. 2, pp. 372–7, l. 82).

Kos

Buck, *Dialects* 108.55–6 (C4m)

ταῦτα πάν[τα οὐκ] ἀποφέρεται ἐκτὸς τᾶς
π[όλιος]

Kos is called *polis* in the political sense in the
same inscription, (a religious calendar) (Buck,
Dialects 108.22)

Kyrene

SEG 9 1.62 (ca. 320 BC)

δέονται ἐν τῇ πόλει ὑπ[ο.]έμειν

SEG 9 72.4 (C4l)

[αῖ] κα ἐπὶ τὰν γὰν ἢ ἐπὶ τὰμ πόλιν ἐπέιη
νόσο[ς ἢ λιμὸς] ἢ θάνατος, θύεν ἐμπρόσθε τὰμ
πυλᾶν

Kyrene is called *polis* in the political sense in a
foundation decree of the late seventh/fourth cen-
tury (Meiggs-Lewis, *GHI* 5.3–4).

Labrys

SEG 43 515.7 (390–80 BC)

ἐγβάλλων ἀρχῆς εἰς τήνδε πόλιν κ[ατέκλει-
σεν ?]

Labrys is called *polis* in the political sense in
the same inscription (a dedication) (*SEG* 43
515.3)

Latmos

EA 29 (1997) 137.27–8 (ca. 315 BC)

ἐξεῖναι δὲ Πιδασεῦσιν οἰκοδομεῖσθαι
οἰκήσι[μα] ἐν τῇ πόλει ἐν τῇ δημοσίᾳ
οὗ ἂν βούλωνται.

Latmos is called *polis* in the political sense in
the same inscription (a treaty by which Pidasa is
incorporated into Latmos) *EA* 29 (1997) 137.3,
16–7 and 18.

Miletos*OGIS* 213.10 (ca. 300 BC)

στοὰν οἰκοδο[μήσειν τῷ δημοσί]ωι κατὰ πόλιν

Miletos is called *polis* in the political sense in a *lex sacra* of ca. 400 (*Syll.*³ 1002.5)**Mykonos***Syll.*³ 1215.19 (C4/3)

τὸ οἶκημα τὸ ἐμ πόλει

Mykonos was a member of the Delian League (*IG* I³ 264.IV.8) and again of the Second Athenian Naval League (*IG* II² 43.B19), which testifies to its being a political community. See G. Reger, "Islands with one *Polis* versus Islands with several *Poleis*", *CPCActs* 4 (1997) 483 n. 25.**Mytilene***IG* XII 2 4 + *IG* XII Suppl. 4 (ca. 350 BC)*IG* XII Suppl. 4.1–2

[π]όταμον ῥέοντα αὐτ[οθεν εἰς τὸ 'Ασκλη]πίειον καὶ εἰς τὰν εἰ[σω πόλιν]

IG XII 2 4.7

[.. εἰς τὸν ναῦ]ον καὶ εἰς τὰμ πόλιν

IG XII 2 4.17

τῇ [ὑδραγωγίαι 'Αθανάδα]ς εἰς τὰμ πόλιν

Mytilene is called *polis* in the political sense in an alliance of 347/6 (*IG* II² 213.12–3).**Naulochos***Tod, GHI* 185.5 (334 BC)

τὰς οἰκίας τὰς ἐν τῇ πόλει πά[σα]ς

Naulochos struck coins in the fourth century (Head, *HN*² 587), and it had a *theorodokos* ca. 330 B.C. (*SEG* 23 189.II.10), which shows that it was a political community.**Oianthea***IG* IX².3 717A.4 (450 BC)

πλὰν ἐ(λ) λιμένος τῷ κατὰ πόλιν

IG IX².3 717 is a treaty with Chaleion and testifies to Oianthea being a *polis* in the political sense, see M.H. Hansen, "Hekataios' Use of the Word *Polis* in His *Periegesis*", *CPCPapers* 4 (1997) 24 (cf. *Tod, GHI* 34).**Olbia***SEG* 41 619.1 (490–80 BC)[Μνημ' ἀρετῆς ἔστ]ηκα, λέγω δ' ὅτι τῇλε πόλε[ως / οὐλόμενος κεῖ]ται (cf. *Dubois* Olbia no. 44 = *SEG* 41 619 = *CEG* 1 173 = *SGDI* 5552 = *LSAG* 368)

- SEG* 42 711 (331 BC) ἀποσσειλάτω μοι εἰς πόλιν καὶ δότω [αὐ]τῷ
τὰ γρα(μ)μα(τα)
- IOSPE* I 171 (C4/3) [κα]ὶ τοὺς μεθ' αὐτῶν [ἐκ] τῆς ν[ήσου ἐξέ]βα-
λεν καὶ [πα]ραγενόμενος εἰς τὴν πόλι[ν]
- Dubois*, Olbia 23.12 (C6s) τὴν μητέρα καὶ τὸς ἀδε(λ)φεός .. ἄγ' ἐν ἐς τὴν
πόλιν
- IOSPE* IV 456 (C4/C3e) τοὺς στασίαζοντας] ἐν τῇ πόλει
- Olbia is called *polis* in the political sense in a honorary inscription of 325 B.C. (*SEG* 32 794.3, 7)
- Paphos**
- CEG* 2 869.1 (bef. 306 BC) εὐρύχορος πόλις ἄδε τεᾶι, Νικόκλεες, ὀρμᾶι/
ὕψηλὸν πύργων ἀμφ[έ]θετο στέφανον = Maier, *Mauerbau* I 58
- Paphos is called *polis* in the political sense by Aischylos (*Pers.* 892)
- Paros**
- Horos* 10–12 438.3 (C4s) ΟΡΟΣ ΠΟΛΕΩΣ (see *CPCActs* 3 p. 37 with n. 148)
- Paros is called *polis* in the political sense in a decree of the fourth century (*IG* XII 5 110.6–111.6)
- Pinara**
- CEG* 2 888.24 (C4e) πόλις τρεῖ[ς] = *SEG* 28 1245B
- SEG* 36 1216 2, 4 (340–34 BC) Πιναρέοι[ς] .. τῆς ἐμπο[ρίας τῆς] οὔσης [ἐ]ν
τῇ π[όλ]ει
- called *polis* in mainly in the urban, but perhaps also in the political sense by Menekrates of Xanthos (*FGrHist* 769) fr. 1.
- ..
- Plataiai**
- Tod, *GHI* 204.34 (C4) καὶ οὐκ ἀναστήσω Ἀθήνας οὐδὲ Σπάρτην οὐδὲ
Πλαταιὰς οὐδὲ τῶν ἄλλων πόλεων τῶν συμ-
μαχεσασμένων οὐδεμίαν
- Plataiai is called *polis* in the political sense by Thucydides (2.2.2), and Isokrates (14.1).
- Pordoselene/Nasos**
- I.Adramytteion* II 34.A2 (ca. 318 BC) [χ]ώρας τῇ πόλι κα[ὶ] –
- Pordoselene/Nasos is called *polis* in the political sense in the same inscription (an honorary decree) (*I.Adramytteion* II 34.A9).

RhodosMaiuri, *NS* 1.5 (C4)

πρόθυμος ὧν διετέλει τῶι δήμῳ καὶ τῶγ
κατ[οικ]ούντων ἐν Ῥόδῳ πόλ[ει]

Syll.³ 338.15 (300 BC)

ἐπὶ τᾷς ἐσόδου τᾷς ἐκ πόλιος

Rhodos is called *polis* in the political sense by Demosthenes (15.13, 27).

SpartaTod, *GHI* 204.34 (C4)

καὶ οὐκ ἀναστήσω Ἀθήνας οὐδὲ Σπάρτην οὐδὲ
Πλαταιὰς οὐδὲ τῶν ἄλλων πόλεων τῶν συμ-
μαχεσαμένων οὐδεμίαν

Sparta is called *polis* in the political sense in the alliance with Athens of 421, quoted by Thucydides at 5.23, and by Herodotos (7.101.1).

Stolos

SEG 38 670.4 (357–49 BC)

τὴν οἰκίην ἐμ πόλει

SEG 38 671.7 (357–49 BC)

οἰκίας τὰ [sic] ἐν πόλει

SEG 38 672.4 (357–49 BC)

τὰς οἰκίας ἐμ πόλει

Stolos is called *polis* in the political sense in the Peace of Nicias, quoted by Thucydides (5.18.5).

Telemessos

CEG 2 888.24

(= SEG 28 1245B, C4e)

πόλις τρεῖς

Telemessos was a member of the Delian League (*IG* I³ 262.V.32), and it struck coins from the late fifth century (O. Mørkholm & G. Neumann, *Die lykischen Münzlegenden* [1978] M 227, 238a, 244), and that shows that it was a political community at the time.

TeosSyll.³ 37B.15 (ca. 470 BC)

προδο[ίη ...] τῇ[v] πόλ[ιν] καὶ γῆν] τὴν Τηίων

Syll.³ 344.6 (303 BC)

ἐὰν μὲν διαμένῃ ἡ ὑπάρχουσα πόλις

Syll.³ 344.7 (303 BC)

κατασκάπτειν τὴν ὑπάρχουσαν πόλιν

Syll.³ 344.9 (303 BC)

ἐὰν δὲ μέρος τι τῆς πόλεως κατασκάπτεται

Syll.³ 344.13 (303 BC)

ἱκαναὶ οἰκίαι ἐν τῇ [κ]ατασκευαζομένη πό-
λει

Syll.³ 344.14–5 (303 BC)

τῆς περιβαλλομένης πόλεως

Syll.³ 344.75 (303 BC)

[εἰσάγειν σῖτον εἰς τῇ]μ πόλιν

Syll.³ 344.78 (303 BC)

σί[του] πληθος ἱκανὸν ἐν τῇ πόλ[ει]

Syll.³ 344.98 (303 BC)

ᾧσαι δ' ἂν κῶμαι ἡ ἐπαύλια ᾧσιν ἔξ[ω] τῆς πό-
λεως ὑμ]ῶν

Teos is called *polis* in the political sense in the same inscription, two letters of Antigonos concerning the synoikism of Teos and Lebedos (*Syll.*³ 344.20).

Theangela

Col. Froehner I.52.20

(ca. 310 BC)

παραλαμβανέτω

Theangela is called *polis* in the political sense in the same inscription (line 24), a treaty between Thangela and Eupolemos.

Thebes

*Syll.*³ 337.38 (aft. 304 BC)

τάδε ἔδωκαν] τῇ πόλ[ι ἐν τὸν συνοικισμὸν]

Thebes is called *polis* in a proxeny decree of ca. 338 (*SEG* 28 465.3–4), and by Herodotos (1.61.3).

Tlos

SEG 36 1216 2, 4 (340–34 BC)

Τλωίτοις .. τῆς ἐμπορίας τῆς] οὔσης [ἐ]ν τῇ π[όλ]ει

The city-ethnic is also attested in two fourth-century inscriptions (*TAM* I 25.10; *SEG* 44 193), and a cult of Apollo is attested in the same inscription (*TAM* I 25.15). The problem with Tlos is similar to that of Kadyanda: it cannot be shown beyond doubt that Tlos was a political community, and it is difficult to ascertain whether it was hellenised by the mid-fourth century.

Troizen

IG IV 753.10 (C4)

ἀξίως τοῦ τε γυμνασί[ου καὶ τᾶς πόλιος]

called *polis* in the political sense in the accounts of the Delphic *naopoioi* (*CID* II 4.I.3, 9).

Xanthos

CEG 2 888.24 (C4e)

(= *SEG* 28 1245B)

SEG 36 1216 1–2, 4 (340–34 BC)

πόλις τρεῖς

[Χα]νθίοις .. τῆς ἐμπορίας τῆς] οὔσης [ἐ]ν τῇ π[όλ]ει

Xanthos is called *polis* in the political sense in a trilingual cult inscription of 337/6 (*SEG* 27 942.12, 18).

Zeleia

*Syll.*³ 279.25 (ca. 334–3 BC)

τοὺς δὲ ἀποδήμους, ἐπειδὴν ἔλθωσιν ἐς τὴν πόλιν

Zeleia is called *polis* in the political sense in the same inscription, a decree of the people of Zeleia (lines 15, 19, 39).

A SURVEY OF THE USE OF THE WORD *POLIS* IN ARCHAIC AND CLASSICAL SOURCES

by

MOGENS HERMAN HANSEN

This article is a survey of the Copenhagen Polis Centre's investigation of the word *polis* and sums up the conclusions brought in a number of articles published in our two series: *CPCActs* and *CPCPapers*, see *infra* p. 182. On the basis of these studies we have formulated what we call the *Lex Hafniensis de Civitate*. As set out in *CPCActs* 3 (1996) 28 and 33 it runs as follows: "in Archaic and Classical sources the term *polis* used in the sense of "town" to denote a named urban centre is applied not just to any urban centre but only to a town which was also the centre of a *polis* in the sense of political community. Thus, the term *polis* has two different meanings: town and state; but even when it is used in the sense of town its *reference*, its denotation, seems almost invariably to be what the Greeks called *polis* in the sense of a *koinonia politon politeias* and what we call a city-state." The *lex Hafniensis* applies to Greek *poleis* only. For the use of *polis* in relation to barbarian communities, see *infra* pp. 180–2.

I

By way of introduction I shall list the evidence on which our investigation is based and explain the method used in the analysis of this evidence.

1. The *Lex Hafniensis* is an observation of how the word *polis* is used in ancient Greek prose down to ca. 300 B.C. The whole investigation starts from the universally accepted view (a) that the word *polis* has several different meanings of which "nucleated settlement" and "political community" are the most common,¹ (b) that in many passages it bears one of these two senses, but not the other, whereas (c) there are many other passages in which the word is used in both senses simultaneously. In some of these passages the principal sense is "political community" and "nucleated settlement" is a connotation; in other passages it is just the opposite. The purpose of the investigation is for both the urban sense and the political sense to study the relation between meaning and reference, and to assert that, via the reference, the two different senses can be shown to be much more closely connected than most contemporary ancient historians are prepared to believe.²

- 1 For "nucleated settlement" and "political community" as the two principal meanings of *polis*, see *CPCActs* 5 (1998) 17–20, 31–4. For the less common territorial meaning of *polis* (*polis* = city plus hinterland = territory), see *ibidem* 22, 26–7, 31–2, 53–6 with, especially, note 239.
- 2 It is commonly held that *polis* in the urban sense can denote a nucleated settlement which was

2. The point of departure has been, in Archaic and Classical texts, to isolate occurrences of *polis* used in the sense of “nucleated settlement”;³ next, in all cases in which the reference is to a named and identifiable nucleated settlement to investigate whether this settlement is also attested as a *polis* in the sense of “political community”.

3. To be cautious I have spoken so far about “nucleated settlement” *versus* “political community”. In the following I shall use “urban centre”, “town” and “city” synonymously with “nucleated settlement”, and “state” synonymously with “political community”. In other studies I have argued (a) that the Hellenic *polis* as an urban centre was indeed what can reasonably be called a “town” or a “city”⁴ and (b) that as a political community it was, in many important respects, what we today call a state.⁵ Thus, I find it legitimate to render *polis* by these terms, i.e. “town” or “city”, when the word occurs in an urban context, and “state” when the context is political. But let me stress that for the present investigation it makes no difference whether the *polis* was really a city and a state in the usual sense of these terms. The aim of the study is to compare the urban and the political senses of the word *polis* used about Hellenic communities and, via the reference, to demonstrate that the two aspects are virtually inseparable.

4. To illustrate how we distinguish between the different senses I find it expedient to list some examples which show that it is possible to isolate occurrences of *polis* (a) used in the urban sense without the political, (b) used in the political sense without the urban, and (c) used in both senses simultaneously.

Re (a): polis in the urban sense is attested, e.g., when a *polis* is opposed to its hinterland (called *chora* or *ge*);⁶ when one walks from the *polis* into the fields, or returns from the fields into the town;⁷ when the distance from a *polis* is measured in

not the political centre of a city-state: R.W. Macan, *Herodotus VII–IX* (Oxford 1908) 156–7; F. Hampl, “Die lakedämonischen Perioeken,” *Hermes* 72 (1937) 48, see *infra* p. 194; M. Zahrtnt, *Olynth und die Chalkidier* (München 1971) 10 (Thorikos, see *infra* p. 197) and 221 (Sane, see *infra* p. 207); M.B. Sakellariou, *The Polis-State. Definition and Origin* (Athens 1989); 158–9; G.E.M. de Ste Croix, *The Class Struggle in the Ancient Greek World* (London 1981) 428; repeated by P. Burke “City-States” in J.A. Hall, *City-States in History* (London 1986) 139; E. Lévy, “La cité grecque: invention moderne ou réalité antique?” *Cahiers Glotz* 1 (1990) 54; A. Bresson, “Les cités grecques et leur *emporion*,” in A. Bresson & P. Rouillard (eds.), *L’emporion* (Paris 1993) 222; P.J. Rhodes in *CPCActs* 2 (1995) 97; H. Bowden in *CPCPapers* 3 (1996) 29; D. Knoepfler in *CPCActs* 4 (1997) 401 with note 332; P. Funke in *CPCActs* 4 (1997) 179 n. 36, but see *ibidem* 176. H. van Wees, in his review of *CPCActs* 2 (1995) in *G&R* 43 (1996) 136.

3 We include attestations of δίπολις, τρίπολις, τετράπολις and πεντάπολις. They occur most frequently in Ps.-Skylax and here primarily in the urban sense. For occurrences in other texts, see τρίπολις: Pind. *Ol.* 7.33 (Rhodos); τετράπολις: Thuc. 2.30.2 (Kephallenia); πεντάπολις: Hdt. 1.144.1 (Dorian *pentapolis*).

4 In *CPCActs* 4 (1997) 25–54.

5 in *CPCActs* 5 (1998) 114–23.

6 Dem. 18.204 speaks about the Athenians in 480, οἱ καὶ τὴν χώραν καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἐκλιπεῖν ὑπέμειναν εἰς τὰς τριήρεις ἐμβάντες.

7 Dem 47.63: ὁ δ’ Εὐεργος οὐτοσί εὐθύς ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ... ἐλθὼν εἰς ἀγρόν ... Xen. *Hell.* 5.4.3: the Theban liberators in 379 πρὸς τὰς πύλας ἦλθον, ὥς δὴ ἐξ ἀγροῦ ἀπιόντες ... ἐπεὶ δ’ εἰσῆλθον εἰς τὴν πόλιν.

stades;⁸ when a road leads towards the *polis*;⁹ when a house is lying in the *polis*;¹⁰ or the reference is to the higher lying part of the *polis*;¹¹ or to the water-supply of the *polis*;¹² when a cult festival is celebrated outside the *polis*;¹³ when a defence circuit is built around a *polis*;¹⁴ when a *polis* is besieged,¹⁵ or set on fire,¹⁶ or destroyed;¹⁷ when, during a civil war, the state is split up into one faction in control of the town while the other faction is driven out of the town.¹⁸

Re (b): polis in the political sense is attested when a *polis* passes a law,¹⁹ or takes up a loan,²⁰ or consults an oracle.²¹ For a long list of activities performed by the *polis* in the political sense, see *CPCActs* 5 (1998) 67–8. Particularly clear instances of *polis* in the political sense alone are the attestations of *polis* being opposed to *asty*, see, e.g., Thuc. 6.44.2: παρεκομίζοντο τὴν Ἰταλίαν (the Athenian navy) τῶν μὲν πόλεων οὐ δεχομένων αὐτοὺς ἀγορᾷ οὐδὲ ἄστει ...

Re (c): polis used in the urban and political senses simultaneously is attested in, e.g., the following four passages: Din. 1.24: πόλις ἀστυγείτων καὶ σύμμαχος ἐκ μέσης τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἀνῆρπασται. Here the first adjective qualifies the *polis* as a city – sc. Athens' neighbour Thebes which in 335 B.C. was razed to the ground by Alexander – the second as a state. Xen. *Hell.* 3.1.13: τῶν οὐκ ὑπηκόων πόλεων προσέλαβεν ἐπιθαλαττιδίας Λάρισάν τε καὶ Ἀμαξιτὸν καὶ Κολωνάς, ξενικῶ μὲν Ἑλληνικῶ προσβαλοῦσα τοῖς τείχεσιν, ... That the *poleis* are independent shows that they are political communities; that they are lying on the coast and walled shows that they are urban centres as well. Aen. *Tact.* 28.1: προνοεῖσθαι δὲ καὶ τάδε ἐν φόβῳ οὐσης πόλεως. πύλας τὰς μὲν ἄλλας κεκλειῖσθαι, μίαν δὲ ἀνεῶχθαι... The *polis* stricken by fear is a community of citizens, but the reference to the gates indicates that it is also a walled settlement. Hdt. 8.35.1: καὶ γὰρ τῶν Πανοπέων τὴν

8 Ps.-Skylax 33: Ἀμβρακία πόλις Ἑλληνίς, ἀπέχει δὲ αὕτη ἀπὸ θαλάττης στάδια π'.

9 *IG IV*² 116.20: ἐν ταῖς ὁδοῖς ταῖς εἰς πόλιν ἀγοῦσ[αι].

10 *SEG* 43 713.35–6: τὴν οἰκίην [τὴν] ἐμ πόλει. *I. Cret.* IV 72.IV.32: τέγανς μὲν τὰς ἐν πόλι.

11 Thuc. 4.112.3: Βρασιδὰς μὲν οὖν καὶ τὸ πλῆθος εὐθύς ἄνω καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ μετέωρα τῆς πόλεως ἐτράπετο.

12 Hdt. 3.60.2: ὄρυγμα ... ὁράνκεται ... δι' οὗ τὸ ὕδωρ ὀχετευόμενον διὰ σωλήνων παραγίνεται εἰς τὴν πόλιν.

13 Aen. *Tact.* 17.2: ἐορτῆς γὰρ πανδήμου ἔξω τῆς πόλεως Ἀργείων γενομένης.

14 Thuc. 1.93.1: οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι τὴν πόλιν ἐτείχισαν; *Syll.*³ 141.4: τευχίζαντας τὰν πόλιν.

15 Thuc. 1.116.2: ἐπολιόρκουν (the Athenians) τρισὶ τείχεσι τὴν πόλιν (Samos) καὶ ἐκ θαλάσσης ἄμα.

16 Hdt. 8.50.2: ὁ γὰρ διὰ Βοιωτῶν τραπόμενος στρατὸς ἅμα Ξέρξῃ ἐμπρήσας Θεσπιέων τὴν πόλιν ... ἦκε τε ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας ...

17 Dem. 18.36: τί οὖν συνέβη μετὰ ταῦτ' εὐθύς, οὐκ εἰς μακράν; τοὺς μὲν Φωκέας ἀπολέσθαι καὶ κατασκοφῆναι τὰς πόλεις αὐτῶν. *Syll.*³ 344.7: ἐὰν δὲ δεῖ κατασκάπτειν τὴν ὑπάρχουσαν πόλιν (Teos).

18 Thuc. 1.24.5: ὁ δῆμος αὐτῶν (the Epidamnians) ἐξεδιώξε τοὺς δυνατοὺς, οἱ δὲ ἐπελθόντες μετὰ τῶν βαρβάρων ἐλήζοντο τοὺς ἐν τῇ πόλει κατὰ τε γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλασσαν. See also *SEG* 26 1282.4–7: μὴ ἐξεῖνα[ι] τῶν στρατηγῶν διαλλάξαι μηθεὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἐν τῇ πόλει ἄνευ τοῦ δήμου τῷ Ἀθηναίων.

19 Meiggs-Lewis, *GHI* 2.1: ὁδ' ἔφαδε πόλι (Dreiros, C7).

20 *I. Locris* (Costabile) 2.6: ἐχρήσατο ἡ πόλις παρ τῷ θεῷ.

21 *IG IV*² 122. [ἔ]δοξε ταῖς πόλιν εἰς Δελφοὺς ἀποστεῖλαι[ι χρησομέ]νους ...

πόλιν ἐνέπρησαν (the Persians) καὶ Δαυλίων καὶ Αἰολιδέων. The *polis* set on fire is, of course, a town, but the identification of the *polis* by the city-ethnic instead of the toponym shows that it is also a political community. Three further examples are Hdt. 7.154.2, quoted and discussed *infra* p. 205, Xen. *Hell.* 5.2.11, quoted and discussed *infra* p. 210, and *Hell. Oxy.* 21.5, quoted and discussed *supra* p. 146.

In both literary and epigraphical sources we have isolated all occurrences of *polis* used exclusively in the urban sense, cf. (a) above, as well as all occurrences in which “town” is either the principal meaning with the political and/or territorial meanings as a connotation or, conversely, in which the urban sense is at least a connotation, cf. (c) above. Next we have discarded all occurrences of *polis* in the sense of town used in a general way without reference to any named town, or used about a number of unidentified towns in a region.²² Thus, we focus exclusively on attestations of the term *polis* being linked to a named locality, such as Syrakousai, Phleious, Pantikapaion or Kyrene.

5. It must be admitted, however, that it is not always easy to determine when a named locality is specifically called *polis*. Sometimes one named town is classified as a *polis*, e.g. Aen. Tact. 18.13: Τέως πόλις εὐμεγέθης; sometimes a number of named towns are classified collectively as *poleis*, e.g. Hdt. 1.144.3: διὰ ταύτην τὴν αἰτίην αἱ πέντε πόλεις, Λίνδος καὶ Ἰήλυσός τε καὶ Κάμιρος καὶ Κῶς τε καὶ Κνίδος, ἐξεκλήισαν τῆς μετοχῆς τὴν ἑκτὴν πόλιν Ἀλικαρνησόν. This passage is unproblematical. We learn that there were altogether six *poleis*, and there are six toponyms to match the site-classification. But if the classification takes the form of, e.g. αἶδε αἱ πόλεις followed by a number of toponyms, we cannot always be sure that all the toponyms listed were actually intended to be understood as *poleis*.²³ In some passages *polis* is used as a generic term or a heading, and in such cases whole peoples – e.g. *ethne* which are never called *polis* when referred to individually – may be listed alongside communities which are frequently classified as *poleis* in other sources.²⁴ To illustrate this problem let me adduce four examples, two from literary and two from epigraphical sources.

Herodotos’ list of *poleis* fighting in the battle of Salamis is sandwiched between the phrases συνελέχθησάν τε δὴ πολλὰ πλεῦνες νέες ἢ ἐπ’ Ἀρτεμισίῳ ἐναυμάχεον καὶ ἀπὸ πολιῶν πλεύνων (8.42.1) and ὥς δὲ ἐς τὴν Σαλαμῖνα συνῆλθον οἱ στρατηγοὶ ἀπὸ τῶν εἰρημένων πολιῶν (8.49.1). All the twenty-two communities listed as *poleis* in 8.42–8 happen to be *poleis* in the sense of city-states. But in Thucydides’ list of Athenian and Spartan allies in the Peloponnesian War the heading πόλεις δὲ ἑκάτεροι τάσδε ἔχοντες ξυμμάχους (2.9.1) includes a number of *ethne* none of which was a *polis* in the usual sense, e.g. the Boiotians, the Lokrians and the Phokians.

22 For *polis* in the sense of town used generally, see Pl. *Resp.* 369C: πολλοὺς εἰς μίαν οἴκησιν ἀγείραντες κοινῶνους τε καὶ βοηθοὺς, ταύτῃ τῇ συνοικίᾳ ἐθεμεθεα πόλιν ὄνομα. For *polis* signifying a number of unidentified towns, see Aeschin. 2.116: ἀπεφηνάμην (Aischines), ὅτι μοι δοκοῖτε δίκαιον εἶναι μὴ περιορᾶν κατεσκαμμένης τὰς ἐν Βοιωτίᾳ πόλεις.

23 This point is especially relevant in the case of Ps.-Skylax, see *CPCActs* 3 (1996) 30–2 and *CPCPapers* 3 (1996) 140–3.

24 See *CPCPapers* 4 (1997) 9–15.

In the Delphic accounts of contributions to the rebuilding of the temple of Apollo of the year 361/0 all the seven communities listed under the heading *τάδε πόλεις καὶ ιδιωται ἐπάρξαντο* (*CID* II 4.I.14–5; III.1–3) were actually city-states. But in the so-called Charter of the Second Athenian Naval League the heading *Ἀθηναίων πόλεις αἶδε σύμμαχοι* (*IG* II² 43.79) is followed by a list of forty-three city-states, three dynasts, two federations and two splinter communities.²⁵ From the use of *polis* as a heading it would be a mistake to conclude, e.g., that the three monarchies and two federations listed in *IG* II² 43 were *poleis*,²⁶ but it would equally be a mistake to take the heading as decisive evidence that the forty-three other communities were actually *poleis*. For each and every community this piece of information must be established from other sources in which *polis* is applied specifically to the community in question. From *polis* as a heading we can infer that most of the communities listed were believed to be *poleis*, and sometimes they all were, but we must always be aware of the universal custom: under a term used as a heading to subsume some instances which do not fit the term to perfection.²⁷

The conclusion is that each occurrence of *polis* must be studied in context. There is no way of laying down a general rule for how to handle this problem, but we have decided that, in the Athenian tribute lists and in the list of members of the Second Athenian League, *polis* must be treated as a mere heading.²⁸ Thus, if an ethnic or a toponym is recorded in these lists we cannot take it as evidence that the community in question was called a *polis* in the political sense; we can only infer that the community must have been a political unit.

6. As stated above the investigation is focused on how the word *polis* was used by the Greeks. Usage, however, may vary from author to author, from genre to genre, from place to place, and may change over time. Accordingly the investigation has been carried out as a number of individual studies of the following bodies of texts: Hekataios, Herodotos, Thucydides, Xenophon, Theopompos, Ephoros, the *Hellenica Oxyrhynčia*, the Attic orators, Ps.-Skylax, Aineias the Tactician, and inscriptions. Thus, history, rhetoric, geography, military literature, and documents inscribed on stone are the genres represented in our material.

No investigation has been published of a philosophical text or corpus of texts for the very simple reason that in philosophy attestations of *polis* in the sense of town and applied to a named site are so rare that no proper study can be made. Plato and Aristotle may serve as examples. In the whole of Aristotle's *Politics* there are just three relevant passages: at 1276a27 Babylon is called *polis* in the urban sense, and at 1280b14–5 there is a similar reference to Megara and Korinth. The other eight attestations of *polis* = town are all from treatises about history or natural history, and most of them are from works emanating from the early Peripatetic school, but not by Aristotle. The evidence is presented *infra* 214. An examination of Plato's

25 M. Dreher in *CPCActs* 2 (1995) 181, 189–91.

26 The 185 members of the United Nations may all be states (as presupposed in the Charter, Chapter II Article 3) but far from all are nations or nation states.

27 For a full discussion of this problem see *CPCPapers* 4 (1997) 9–11.

28 For the Athenian tribute lists, see Schuller in *CPCActs* 2 (1995) 165–70; for the Charter of the Second Athenian Naval League, see Dreher in *CPCActs* 2 (1995) 171–200.

dialogues is even more disappointing: apart from some references to Athens (e.g. *Tht.* 142A) *polis* in the urban sense is applied to the Greek towns Argos, Messene and Lakedaimon (*Lg.* 683D)²⁹ and to the Egyptian towns Thebes (*Phdr.* 274D) and Sais (*Tim.* 21E).

Another self-imposed limitation is that we have focused on prose and left out poetry. Again, this is due to the nature of the evidence. Epos and drama are genres unfit for our investigation. In the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* most of the attestations of *p(t)olis* used about named communities come from the Catalogue of Ships; and, insofar as they have a historical basis, they seem to reflect the Mycenaean Age rather than "Homeric Society".³⁰ In Aischylos, Sophokles and Euripides the context is the imagined heroic age, and it is not very helpful to be told, for example, that Athens is a *polis* ruled by Theseus (*Eur. Suppl.* 4, 28, 114 etc.). One would expect comedy, and especially old comedy to be a much more promising type of source. But in Aristophanes all attestations of *polis* applied to a named city are either to Athens (*Nub.* 69) or to Nephelokokkygia (*Av.* 550).³¹ Both tragedy and comedy are extremely important sources for the general and ideological aspects of the concept of *polis*, but of no value for a study of *polis* as a site-classification applied to named historical communities. For our purposes Pindar is by far the best source, but all his *epinikia* can contribute to the investigation is that Aigina, Aitna, Akragas, Kyrene and Thebes are being referred to as *poleis* in the urban sense, see *infra* p. 215.

Finally, we have been careful to include as many non-Athenian sources as possible. We are acutely aware of the fact that earlier studies of the ancient Greek *polis* have been based almost exclusively on Athenian sources. In our material the Athenian usage is represented by Thucydides, Xenophon, the orators, Ps.-Skylax (possibly), and some of the inscriptions. The non-Athenian evidence is represented by Hekataios, Herodotos, Aineias the Tactician, Ephoros, Theopompos, the Oxyrhynchos Historian and the bulk of inscriptions.

7. The texts we have studied cover over 95% of the available sources.³² In Classical prose there are, at most, 8,500 attestations of the word *polis*, and in Archaic and Classical inscriptions there are about 1,450, ca. 425 in Attic inscriptions and ca. 1025 in inscriptions found elsewhere, see p. 161 *supra*. Of these altogether ca. 10,000 occurrences max. over 9,500 are included in our study.³³ In the majority of cases

29 The reference is to the period of "The Doric Invasion" and it is debatable whether it is at all relevant in this context. For Lakedaimon denoting the town rather than the region, see p. 78.

30 R. Hope Simpson & J.F. Lazenby, *The Catalogue of Ships in Homer's Iliad* (Oxford 1970).

31 Heraclides Creticus' list of Boiotian *poleis* (*GGM* 1 25, p. 104) was once believed to stem from a lost comedy (Kock, *adespota* no. 337), but has been deleted from Kassel and Austin vol. VIII.

32 Aineias the Tactician 145 occurrences; Aischines: 281 (excluding the letters); Andokides: 116; Antiphon: 36; Aristotle: 707 (including some spurious works, but excluding fragments in which it is uncertain whether the word *polis* comes from Aristotle); Deinarchos: 128; Demosthenes: 1125 (excluding quotes of poetry and forged documents); Ephoros 12; Hekataios: 30; Herodotos: 469; Hypereides: 95; Isaios: 22; Isokrates: 798; Lykourgos: 126; Lysias: 370; Oxyrhynchos Historian: 29; Plato: 1467 (including 7th letter, but excluding spurious dialogues and other letters); Ps.-Skylax: 266; Theopompos: 28; Thucydides 849; Xenophon: 1072. Total: 8.171.

33 In the older part of the Hippocratic corpus there are 24 occurrences, of which only one is relevant, i.e. a reference to Phasis at *Aer.* 15; in the fragments of Presocratic philosophers there are

polis is used in the sense of state. Furthermore, when *polis* is used in the sense of town, the reference is not infrequently to a town in general, or to one or more unnamed Greek towns, or to a named barbarian town, or to one or more unnamed barbarian towns. Subtracting all these passages we are left with 1,158 attestations of *polis* in the sense of town being used about 447 named Greek cities.³⁴

8. Having identified and listed all the towns which in a text are explicitly classified as *poleis* in the urban sense, we proceed by investigating whether these towns are also attested as *poleis* in the sense of state. Sometimes the context shows that *polis*, though used principally in the urban sense, has the political sense as a connotation, see *supra* 4. *Re (c)*. Mostly, however, *polis* is used in the urban sense alone, and then the first step is to check whether the town is called *polis* in the political sense elsewhere in the same text. If that is not the case we investigate whether it is called *polis* in the political sense in any other text of the Archaic and Classical periods. If that is not the case we occasionally extend the chronological limit and check whether it is called *polis* in an early Hellenistic source and if it can be reasonably argued that the town had not changed its political status between the Classical and early Hellenistic period. Mostly, however, we prefer a different approach: if there is no attestation of the town being called a *polis* in the political sense in sources of the period ca. 500–300 B.C., we adduce other evidence indicating that this settlement was indeed a political as well as an urban centre; and here we focus on political activities which in all sources are frequently attested as being performed by *poleis*, and on characteristics which are closely connected with being a *polis* in the political sense. Of the criteria frequently referred to I can mention (a) that the town had a mint; (b) that the town is recorded as a member of the Delian League, or of the Peloponnesian League, or of some other major alliance; (c) that the town appointed a *theorodokos* to host *theoroi*; (d) that the city-ethnic appears in a context which shows that the town acted as a political community; (e) that the town is known to have been the subject of one of the 158 Aristotelian *politeiai*. If the town in question fulfills one or more of these criteria the presumption is that it was believed by the ancient Greeks to have been a *polis* in the political sense too, and that it must be due to the fragmentary preservation of sources that the political sense is unattested in the extant texts.³⁵

less than 40 attestations (not all the occurrences listed in the Diels-Kranz index are from fragments quoted *verbatim*), and my guesstimate is that a maximum of 350 more occurrences can be found in other prose texts not covered by our investigations.

34 The distribution is: Aineias the Tactician: 22 attestations of *polis* in the sense of town used about 12 named Greek *poleis*; Aristotle: 9 attestations of 10 *poleis*; Demosthenes: 54 attestations of 27 *poleis*; Ephoros: 8 attestations of 7 *poleis*; Herodotos: 165 attestations of 166 *poleis*; Hekataios: 18 attestations of 18 *poleis*; inscriptions to 300 B.C.: 99 attestations of 49 *poleis*; Isokrates: 38 attestations of 19 *poleis*; Minor Orators: 36 attestations of 10 *poleis*; Oxyrhynchos Historian: 11 attestations of 8 *poleis*; Ps.-Skylax: 195 attestations of 214 *poleis*; Theopompos: 11 attestations of 13 *poleis*; Thucydides: 304 attestations of 76 *poleis*; Xenophon, *Anabasis*: 18 attestations of 8 *poleis*; Xen. *Hellenika*: 156 attestations of 64 *poleis*; Xen. *Varia*: 14 attestations of 8 *poleis*.

35 For a list of the types of evidence used to establish that a given community must have been a *polis* in the political sense, see the Polis Centre's Database Card printed in *CPCActs* 3 (1996) 55–62.

9. The chronological scope is, by and large, from ca. 500 B.C. (Hekataios) to ca. 300 B.C. (the *terminus ante quem* of the inscriptions we have studied). There are very few sources covering the period ca. 650–500 and no sources before ca. 650 B.C.³⁶ Whenever the attestations of *polis* in the urban and in the political sense come from the same author, they are, of course, contemporaneous. But what happens if the attestation of the urban sense and the attestation of the political sense come from different sources? It is unproblematical if, for example, a *polis* attested in Demosthenes in the sense of town is called *polis* in the political sense by Aischines or Xenophon or Aristotle. But what about a *polis* attested in the urban sense in Herodotos in a 480 B.C. context and in the political sense only in a fourth-century inscription or in Demosthenes? Or if the attestation of the urban sense in a 4th century source has to be matched with coins of the early 5th century? In all such cases other evidence must be taken into account and it is a matter of interpretation whether the gap in time between the attestations of *polis* is of no consequence, or whether we must consider the possibility that the town in question had changed its status between the early fifth and the mid-fourth centuries. This problem is particularly prominent in the treatment of Hekataios because there is virtually no other evidence from ca. 500 B.C. In Herodotos a case in point is Naukratis, for which see p. 199.

10. Not only Greek but also barbarian towns are called *polis* by Greek authors; forty-seven named barbarian towns are labelled *polis* in Herodotos, seven in Thucydides and twenty-one in Xenophon.

Sometimes these towns were actually urban centres of city-states. Thus, the Phoenician city and city-state Sidon is called a *polis* by Herodotos at 3.136.1, and in an Attic honorary decree for king Straton of Sidon the Sidonians are called citizens of Sidon (*IG* II² 141 = Tod, *GHI* 139). Similarly, in Thucydides some Etruscan city-states are referred to as being *poleis* (6.88.6, cf. Arist. *Mir.* 837b32), and so are the Elymean cities Eryx and Egesta (6.2.3). Rome is classified as a *polis* in the urban sense by Ps.-Skylax 5, and in the fourth century B.C. Rome was actually a *polis* in the political sense too.

Sometimes the Greek historians and geographers seem – erroneously – to have believed that barbarian towns were *poleis* in the political sense and that the political structure of, e.g., the Persian empire was not essentially different from that of Hellas. In his description of the battle of Salamis, for example, Herodotos tells us that Xerxes ordered a scribe to record the name, patronymic and *polis* of any captain who distinguished himself in the fight (8.90.4); Herodotos seems to assume that every Persian captain belonged to a *polis* and could be identified by his city-ethnic. Similarly, in 7.96.2 he ends his list of all the contingents of the Persian forces with the remark that he will not bother to give the names of all the leaders, first because the leaders of the individual *peoples* (*ethne*) were not worth mentioning, and second

36 The earliest indisputable attestations of named historical communities called *polis* in the sense of “city-state” are Thasos, Sparta and Dreros, all three attested in sources of the mid-seventh century B.C. For Thasos, see Archilochos fr. 13.2, West: *polis* in the sense of community of *astoi*; fr. 49.7: *polis* in the sense of town. For Sparta, see Tyrtaios fr. 4.8, 12.28: *polis* in the sense of community of citizens; fr. 10.3: *polis* in the sense of town. For Dreros, see Meiggs-Lewis, *GHI* 2.1–2, now dated ca. 650 B.C. (*Nomima* I 81): *polis* in the sense of political community.

because, in each people, there were as many leaders as there were *poleis*.³⁷ Again, the political structure of the Persian empire is represented as a plurality of *ethne*, each consisting of a number of *poleis*.

In most cases, however, the Greek authors must have applied the term *polis* to a barbarian urban centre knowing that, on the one hand, it was a nucleated settlement whereas, on the other hand, it was not a political community. Herodotos says that there were twenty thousand *poleis* in Egypt (2.177.1). He may have believed that there were twenty thousand nucleated settlements, but we should not take him to believe that there were twenty thousand self-governing polities. Again, In the *Anabasis* (1.2.14) Xenophon describes the Phrygian town Tyriaeion as a *polis* in the urban sense (πόλιν οἰκουμένην), but a recently found inscription shows that only in the mid second century B.C., by royal rescript, was Tyriaeion granted the right to be a fully Hellenised *polis* in the political sense.³⁸

This observation, however, does not invalidate our investigation which applies exclusively to the term *polis* used about Greek towns. The Greeks used their own term *polis* about barbarian towns, no matter whether they were self-governing communities or not. It would be unwise to reverse the line of thought and infer from the frequent use of *polis* about barbarian towns which were *not* city-states that it must have been used in the same way when applied to Greek towns classified as *poleis*. Let me illustrate this point by an ancient parallel and a modern analogy.

The Greeks were notorious for reading their own names, terms and concepts into foreign cultures. Thus, they readily equated foreign divinities with the gods of their own pantheon. In Herodotos' account of Skythia we hear that Tabiti was Hestia, Papaïos was Zeus, Api was Ge, Goitosyros was Apollon, Argimpasa was Aphrodite, and Thagimasadas was Poseidon (4.59). We may find some common characteristic which can explain why, e.g., Argimpasa was called Aphrodite, but it would be a gross mistake from what we may know about Argimpasa to argue backwards and suppose that that must have applied to Greek Aphrodite as well.

The modern analogy concerns the European concept of state. Since the nineteenth century, Europeans have been in the habit of referring to, e.g., the Bantu-speaking kingdoms in Uganda as "states".³⁹ Before 1967 these kingdoms were indeed political communities and in some sense it is not wrong to call them states; but they were radically different from European states; the Europeans knew that they were applying their own concept of state to a very different type of community, and it would be misguided in an analysis of the European concept of state to take the labelling of these communities as states as an indication that the term state was used in the same way in European politics and political thought. It would be equally misguided from the Greek habit of calling barbarian towns *poleis* to deduce that the Greeks must have used the term *polis* in the same way when applied to Greek towns.

37 Hdt. 7.96.2: οὕτε γὰρ ἔθνεος ἐκάστου ἐπάξιοι ἦσαν οἱ ἡγεμόνες, ἐν τε ἔθνεϊ ἐκάστω ὄσαι περ πόλεις τοσούτοι καὶ ἡγεμόνες ἦσαν.

38 L. Jonnes & M. Riel, "A New Royal Inscription from Phrygia Paroreios: Eumenes II Grants Tyriaion the Status of a *Polis*," *Epigraphica Anatolica* 29 (1999) 1–29.

39 E.J. Steinhart, "Pastoral Hegemony," in H.J.M. Claessen & P. Skalnik (eds.), *Early States* (The Hague 1978) 143–6.

The conclusion is that we must conduct two separate investigations of the meanings and uses of *polis*, one for Greek communities and one for barbarian, and only afterwards compare the two studies in order to study similarities and differences. It must be added, however, that it is not always easy to distinguish the Greek from the barbarian *poleis*, and some *poleis* were mixed, e.g. the five *poleis* in Athos (Thuc. 4.109.4) and some of the *poleis* in the Thermaic Gulf, viz., Therme (Hecat. fr. 146) Pella and Ichnai (Hdt. 7.123.3). In other cases we are unsure whether some *poleis* in border districts were at all Greek, e.g. Kadyanda, Pinara and Tlos in Lykia (SEG 36 1216.4). Our method has been to include both mixed *poleis* and *poleis* for which the sources leave room for doubt.

11. Finally, the investigation is based on a number of assumptions stated and substantiated in *CPCActs* 3 (1996) 14–25. (a) *Polis* was to some extent a loaded term, but there is no reason to assume that the word became a slogan, and its application to named communities seems only very occasionally to have been a bone of contention (pages 14–8). (b) There is no support for the view that the Greeks were inconsistent in their use of the term *polis*. They may not have been *wholly* consistent, but the margin of error seems to be in the range of one per hundred or less (pages 18–20). (c) Comparison of sources from ca. 600 B.C. with sources from the late 4th century B.C. shows that the concept of *polis* was essentially the same throughout the period (pages 20–3). (d) The meanings and uses of the term *polis* in Athenian sources is not different from what is found in non-Athenian sources (pages 23–5).

II

Following the method described above we have investigated the use of the term *polis* in the following authors and bodies of text.

Aineias the Tactician	<i>CPCActs</i> 3 (1996) 29–30
Aristotle	<i>infra</i> p. 214
Demosthenes	<i>supra</i> pp. 151–6
Ephoros	<i>supra</i> pp. 142–3
Herodotos	<i>CPCActs</i> 3 (1996) 39–54, <i>infra</i> pp. 205–8
Hekataios	<i>CPCPapers</i> 4 (1997) 17–27, <i>infra</i> p. 205
Inscriptions to 300 B.C.	<i>supra</i> pp. 161–72
Isokrates	<i>supra</i> pp. 157–9
Minor Orators	<i>supra</i> pp. 159–60
Oxyrhynchos Historian	<i>supra</i> pp. 146–7
Plato	<i>supra</i> p. 178
Ps.-Skylax	<i>CPCPapers</i> 3 (1996) 137–67, <i>infra</i> pp. 211–3
Theopompos	<i>supra</i> pp. 143–6
Thucydides	<i>CPCActs</i> 2 (1995) 39–45, <i>infra</i> pp. 208–10
Xenophon <i>Anabasis</i>	<i>supra</i> pp. 133–9
Xenophon <i>Hellenika</i>	<i>CPCPapers</i> 2 (1995) 83–102, <i>infra</i> pp. 210–1
Xenophon <i>varia</i>	<i>infra</i> pp. 213–4

A collocation of all the toponyms studied in these investigations provides us with the following sites called *polis* in the urban sense. For source references see the individual studies and the *addenda, infra* 205–15.

Ancient authors are abbreviated as in *OCD*³. I also use the following abbreviations: L.: Lakedaimonian perioikic community. Π.: site attested in Archaic/Classical sources as a *polis* in the political sense. – P.: site attested in Archaic/Classical sources as performing activities characteristic of a *polis*. – R.: site attested retrospectively in Hellenistic sources as a *polis* of the Archaic/Classical period. – ?: site-classification problematical and discussed *infra* pages 195–201. – *Toponym in italics*: no relevant information in any source about the status of the site in the Archaic and Classical periods.

Abai	Hdt., R.
Abdera	Hdt.; Thuc.; Aen. Tact.; Ps.-Skylax, Π.
Abydos	Hdt., Π.
Achilleion (Troas)	Hdt., P.
Adramyttion	Hdt., P.
Aigaiai	Hdt.; Ps.-Skylax, Π.
Aige	Hdt., P.
Aigiale	Ps.-Skylax, Π.
Aigina	Hdt.; Xen. <i>Hell.</i> ; Dem.; Ps.-Skylax, Π.
Aigirossa	Hdt., Π.
Aigition	Thuc., ?
Aineia	Hdt.; Ps.-Skylax, Π.
Ainos	Hdt.; Ephoros; Theopomp.; Ps.-Skylax, Π.
Aioleion	Theopomp., Π.
Aiolidai	Hdt., Π.
Akanthos	Xen. <i>Hell.</i> ; Ps.-Skylax, Π.
Akragas	Xen. <i>Hell.</i> , Π.
Akraiphia	Hdt., Π.
Akrothoon	Hdt.; Ps.-Skylax, Π.
<i>Alapta</i>	Ps.-Skylax
Aloros	Ps.-Skylax, R.
Alpenos	Hdt., R. ?
Alyzia	Ps.-Skylax, P.
Ambrakia	Thuc.; Ps.-Skylax, Π.
Amphikaia	Hdt., R.
Amphipolis	Thuc.; Isoc.; Dem.; Aeschin., Π.
Amphissa	Hdt.; Ps.-Skylax, Π.
Anaktorion	Thuc.; Ps.-Skylax, Π.
Andros	Xen. <i>Hell.</i> ; Ps.-Skylax, Π.
<i>Anemourion</i>	Ps.-Skylax
Ankon	Ps.-Skylax, R.
Antandros	Hdt.; Thuc., Π.
Anthele	Hdt., ?

Anthene	Thuc., L.
Antikyra	Hdt.; Ps.-Skylax, P.
Antissa	Thuc.; Ps.-Skylax, Π.
Aphytis	Hdt., Π.
Apollonia (Illyria)	Hdt.; Ps.-Skylax, Π.
Apollonia (Pontos)	Hdt.; Aen. Tact., Π.
Apollonia (Thrace)	Xen. <i>Hell.</i> ; Dem.; Ps.-Skylax, Π.
Arethousa	Ps.-Skylax, P.
Argilos	Hdt.; Thuc., Π.
Argos	Inscr.; Hdt.; Thuc.; Isoc.; Xen. <i>Hell.</i> ; Aen. Tact.; Ps.-Skylax, Π.
Argos Amphilochikon	Thuc.; Ps.-Skylax, Π.
Arkeseia	Ps.-Skylax, P.
Arkesine	Inscr.; Ps.-Skylax, Π.
Artake	Hdt., P.
Aspendos	Xen. <i>Hell.</i> ; Ps.-Skylax, Π.
Assa	Hdt., Π.
Astakos	Ps.-Skylax, P.
Atarneus	Ps.-Skylax, P.
Athenai Diades	Ephoros, P.?
Athenai	Inscr.; Hdt.; Thuc.; Xen. <i>Hell.</i> ; <i>Anab.</i> ; <i>Mem.</i> ; <i>Vect.</i> ; <i>Oec.</i> ; Theopomp.; Dem.; Isoc.; Minor Orators; ; Arist., Π.
Barke	Hdt.; Ps.-Skylax, Π.
<i>Batia</i>	Theopomp.
Belbina	Ps.-Skylax, P.
Boia	Ps.-Skylax, L.
Boios	Thuc., P.
<i>Boucheta</i>	Dem.; Theopomp.
<i>Bouthrotos</i>	Hecat.
Brykous in Karpathos	Ps.-Skylax, P.
Byzantion	Hdt.; Xen. <i>Hell.</i> <i>Anab.</i> ; Dem.; Theopomp., Π.
Chaironeia	Hecat., Π.
Chaleion	Inscr.; Hecat., Π.
Chalkedon	Xen. <i>Hell.</i> ; Ps.-Skylax, Arist., Π.
Chalkis (Aitolia)	Thuc., P.
Chalkis (Euboia)	Hecat.; Aen. Tact.; Ps.-Skylax, Π.
Charadra	Hdt., Π.
<i>Charadrous</i>	Ps.-Skylax
Cherronesos (Taur.)	Inscr.; Ps.-Skylax (Agora), Π.
Chersonesos (Thrace)	Hecat., P.
Chios	Inscr.; Hecat.; Hdt.; Thuc.; Xen. <i>Hell.</i> ; Isoc.; Aen. Tact., Π.
<i>Choirades</i>	Hecat. Ps.-Skylax

Dardanos	Hdt., P.
Daton	Ps.-Skylax, P.
Daulis	Hdt.; <i>Hell. Oxy.</i> , II.
Delphoi	Hdt.; Ps.-Skylax, II.
Dikaia (Thrace)	Hdt.; Ps.-Skylax, P.
Dion (Athos)	Hdt., II.
Dion (Macedonia)	Ps.-Skylax, II.
<i>Dioskouris</i>	Ps.-Skylax
Drymos	Hdt., R.
Dystos	Theopomp., ?
Echinos	Ps.-Skylax, P.
Eion	Hdt., ?
<i>Elateia</i> (Kassope)	Dem.; Theopomp.
Elateia (Phokis)	Hdt., II.
Eleutherna	Inscr., II.
Elis	Xen. <i>Hell.</i> ; Dem.; Ps.-Skylax; Arist., II.
Elyros	Ps.-Skylax, P.
Emporion	Ps.-Skylax, P.
Epeion	Hdt.; Xen. <i>Hell.</i> , II.
Ephesos	Inscr.; Hdt.; Xen. <i>Hell.</i> ; <i>Ages.</i> ; <i>Hell. Oxy.</i> ; Ps.-Skylax, II.
<i>Ephyre</i>	Thuc.
Epidamnos	Thuc.; Ps.-Skylax, II.
Epidauros	Inscr.; Thuc.; Ps.-Skylax, II.
Epidauros Limera	Ps.-Skylax, L.
Eresos	Inscr.; Thuc.; Ps.-Skylax, II.
Eretria	Inscr.; Hdt.; Dem.; Ps.-Skylax, II.
Erineos	Thuc., P.
Erochos	Hdt., P.
Erythrai (Ionia)	Inscr.; Hdt.; Ps.-Skylax, II.
<i>Eutaia</i>	Xen. <i>Hell.</i>
<i>Gagaia</i>	Ps.-Skylax
Gale(psos)	Hdt., P.
Gambrion	Xen. <i>Hell.</i> , P.
Gargara	Ephoros, II.
Gela	Thuc.; Theopomp., II.
Gergis	Xen. <i>Hell.</i> , P.
Gigonos	Hdt., II.
Gonnos	Hdt., II.
Gortyn	Inscr., II.
Gryneion	Hecat.; Hdt.; Xen. <i>Hell.</i> , II.
Hairai	Thuc., P.
Halia (Argolis)	Ps.-Skylax, II.
Halikarnassos	Inscr.; Ps.-Skylax, II.
Halos (Ach. Phthi.)	Dem., II.

Hamaxitos	Xen. <i>Hell.</i> , Π.
<i>Harmene</i>	Ps.-Skylax
Hekatonnesoi	Hdt., Π.
Helisson	Inscr., ?
Heloros	Ps.-Skylax, R.
Heraion	Hdt., R.
Herakleia at Siris	Inscr., Π.
Herakleia (Pontos)	Xen. <i>Anab.</i> ; Ps.-Skylax, Π.
Herakleia (Trachis)	Thuc., Π.
Hermione	Ps.-Skylax, Π.
<i>Hermonassa</i>	Hecat.; Theopomp.
Hesperides	Ps.-Skylax, P.
Himera	Xen. <i>Hell.</i> ; Aen. Tact.; Ps.-Skylax, Π.
Histiaia	Hdt.; Ps.-Skylax, Π.
Holmoi	Ps.-Skylax, P.
Hyampolis	Hdt.; <i>Hell. Oxy.</i> , P.
<i>Hydroeis</i>	Ps.-Skylax
Hyele	Hdt., P.
Hyria	Hdt., P.
Ialysos	Inscr.; Thuc., Π.
Iasos	Inscr., Π.
Ichnai	Hdt., Π.
Idalion	Inscr., Π.
Idyros	Ps.-Skylax, P.
Ikos	Ps.-Skylax, P.
Ilion	Xen. <i>Hell.</i> ; Aen. Tact., Π.
Imbros	Ps.-Skylax, Π.
Ios	Ps.-Skylax, Π.
Ioulis	Ps.-Skylax, Π.
Issa	Inscr.; Ps.-Skylax, P.
Itanos	Hdt., P.
Ithaka	Ps.-Skylax, P.
<i>Kadyanda</i>	Inscr., ?
Kalauria	Ps.-Skylax, Π.
Kalymna	Inscr., Π.
Kallipolis	Hdt., Π.
Kamiroi	Thuc., Π.
Kampsia	Hdt., Π.
<i>Karambis</i>	Ps.-Skylax
Kardia	Hdt.; Dem., Π.
Karene	Hdt., P.
Karkinitis	Hdt., P.
Karoussa	Ps.-Skylax, P.
Karpathos	Ps.-Skylax, P.
Karthaia	Ps.-Skylax, Π.

Karyanda	Ps.-Skylax, P.
Karystos	Ps.-Skylax, Π.
Kasmenai	Hdt., ?
<i>Kasthanaia</i>	Hdt.
Katane	Hecat. Thuc., Π.
Kaunos	<i>Hell. Oxy.</i> ; Ps.-Skylax, P.
Kebren	Xen. <i>Hell.</i> , P.
Kedreiai	Xen. <i>Hell.</i> , Π.
Kelenderis	Ps.-Skylax, P.
Kerasous	Xen. <i>Anab.</i> , P.
Kerkyra	Thuc.; Xen. <i>Hell.</i> ; Isoc.; Ps.-Skylax, Π.
<i>Kibyra</i>	Ps.-Skylax
<i>Kikynethos</i>	Ps.-Skylax
Killa	Hdt., Π.
<i>Kinolis</i>	Ps.-Skylax.
Kios	Ps.-Skylax, Π.
Kirra	Aeschin., Π.
Klazomenai	Hdt.; Thuc.; Aen. Tact.; Ps.-Skylax, Π.
Kleonai	Hdt.; Ps.-Skylax, Π.
Knidos	Thuc. Ps.-Skylax, Π.
Kokylion	Xen. <i>Hell.</i> , Π.
Kolonai	Xen. <i>Hell.</i> , Π.
Kolophon	Inscr.; Hdt.; Thuc., Π.
<i>Kombreia</i>	Hdt.
<i>Korakesion</i>	Ps.-Skylax
Koresia	Ps.-Skylax, Π.
Korinthos	Thuc.; Xen. <i>Hell.</i> ; Ages.; Dem.; Ps.-Skylax; Arist., Π.
Kos	Inscr.; Thuc.; Dem.; Ps.-Skylax, Π.
Kotyora	Xen. <i>Anab.</i> , Π.
Kranai	Thuc., Π.
Krannon	Arist., Π.
Krithote	Isoc., Π.
Kroton	Hdt., Π.
Kydonia	Ephoros; Ps.-Skylax, Π.
Kyllene (Elis)	Ps.-Skylax., ?
Kyllene (Aiolis)	Xen. <i>Cyrop.</i> , Π.
Kyme (Italy)	Ps.-Skylax, Π.
Kyme (Aiolis)	Thuc.; Hdt.; Ps.-Skylax, Π.
<i>Kynos</i>	Hecat.; Ps.-Skylax
Kyrene	Inscr.; Hdt.; Arist., Π.
Kythera	Thuc.; Xen. <i>Hell.</i> ; Ps.-Skylax, L.
Kythnos	Ps.-Skylax, Π.
Kytinion	Thuc., P.
<i>Kytoris</i>	Ps.-Skylax
Kyzikos	Xen. <i>Hell.</i> , Π.

Labrys	Inscr., Π.
Lamia	Ps.-Skylax, Π.
Lampsakos	Hdt.; Xen. <i>Hell.</i> , Π.
Larisa (Troas)	Xen. <i>Hell.</i> , Π.
Larisa (Aiolis)	Hdt.; Xen. <i>Cyrop.</i> , Π.
Las	Ps.-Skylax, L.
Latmos	Inscr., Π
Laureion	Xen. <i>Vect.</i> , ?
Lebedos	Hdt., Π.
Leontinoi	Hdt.; Thuc.; Xen. <i>Hell.</i> , Π.
Lepreon	Hdt., Π.
Leukai	Ps.-Skylax, P.
Leukas	Ps.-Skylax, Π.
<i>Leukophrys</i>	Xen. <i>Hell.</i>
Limyra	Ps.-Skylax, P.
Lindos	Thuc., Π.
Lipara	Arist., Π.
<i>Lipaxos</i>	Hdt.
Lissa	Ps.-Skylax, P.
Lokroi	Thuc., Π.
<i>Lykastos</i>	Ps.-Skylax
Madytos	Hdt., P.
Magnesia (Maiandr.)	Ps.-Skylax, Π.
Makistos	Hdt., P.
Mallos	Ps.-Skylax, P.
Mantineia	Thuc.; Isoc.; Xen. <i>Hell.</i> ; Ephoros, Π.
Marion	Ps.-Skylax, P.
Maroneia	Hecat.; Hdt.; Ps.-Skylax, P.
Massalia	Ps.-Skylax, Π.
Megalopolis	Dem., Π.
Megara	Thuc.; Aen. <i>Tact.</i> ; Xen. <i>Vect.</i> ; <i>Hell. Oxy.</i> ; Ps.-Skylax; Arist., Π.
Megara Hyblaia	Thuc.; Ps.-Skylax, P.
Mekyberna	Hdt.; Ps.-Skylax, Π.
Meliboia	Hdt., P.
Melos	Andoc., Π.
Mende	Hdt.; Thuc.; Dem., Π.
<i>Mesambria</i> (Thrace)	Hdt.
<i>Mesambria</i> (Pontic)	Hdt., Π.
Messene (Messenia)	Isoc.; Dem.; Ps.-Skylax, Π.
Messene (Sicily)	Thuc.; Ps.-Skylax, Π.
Methone (Lakedaimon)	Thuc.; Ps.-Skylax, L.
Methone (Macedonia)	Dem.; Din., Π.
Methymna	Thuc.; Xen. <i>Hell.</i> , Π.
Miletos	Inscr.; Hdt.; Thuc., Π.

Minoa	Ps.-Skylax, Π.
Mykalessos	Thuc., Π.
Mykonos	Inscr.; Ps.-Skylax, P.
Mylai	Ps.-Skylax, ?
Mylasa	Arist., Π.
Myndos	Ps.-Skylax, P.
Myous	Hdt., Π.
Myrina	Hdt.: Xen. <i>Hell.</i> ; Ps.-Skylax, Π.
Mytilene	Inscr.; Thuc.; Xen. <i>Hell.</i> ; Ps.-Skylax, Π.
Nagidos	Hecat.; Ps.-Skylax, P.
Naukratis	Hdt., ?
Naulochos	Inscr., P.
Naupaktos	Thuc.; Ps.-Skylax, Π.
Nauplia	Ps.-Skylax, ?
Naxos (Sicily)	Hdt.; Thuc., Π.
Naxos (the island)	Hdt., Π.
Neandria	Xen. <i>Hell.</i> , Π.
Neapolis (Italy)	Ps.-Skylax, P.
Neapolis (Pallene)	Hdt., P.
Neon	Hdt., P.
Neonteichos	Hdt., Π.
Nikonion	Ps.-Skylax, P.
<i>Nonakris</i>	Hdt.
Notion (Aiolis)	Hdt., Π.
Notion (Ionia)	<i>Hell. Oxy.</i> ; Ps.-Skylax, P.
Oaxos	Hdt., Π.
Oianthea	Inscr.; Hecat.; Ps.-Skylax, Π.
Oine	Ps.-Skylax, Π.
Oiniadai	Thuc.; Ps.-Skylax, P.
Olbia	Inscr.; Hdt.; Ps.-Skylax, Π.
Olophyxos	Hdt.; Ps.-Skylax, Π.
Olynthos	Hdt.; Thuc.; Xen. <i>Hell.</i> ; Dem.; Ps.-Skylax, Π.
<i>Ophioussa</i>	Ps.-Skylax
Ophryneion	Hdt., P.
Opous	Ps.-Skylax, Π.
Orchomenos (Arkadia)	Xen. <i>Hell.</i> , Π.
Orchomenos (Boiotia)	Xen. <i>Hell.</i> ; Dem., Π.
Oreos	Dem., Π.
Orikos	Ps.-Skylax, R.
Orobiai	Thuc., ?
Paion	Hdt., R.
Paisos	Hdt., P.
Pale	Thuc., Π.
Pandosia	Dem.; Theopomp., P.

Panopeis	Hdt., Π.
<i>Panormos</i> (Peparethos)	Ps.-Skylax
Paphos	Inscr., Π.
Parapotamioi	Hdt.; <i>Hell. Oxy.</i> , Π.
Parion	Hdt., Π.
Paros	Inscr.; Hdt.; Isoc.; Ephoros, Π.
Patara	Ps.-Skylax, R.
Pedasa	Hdt., Π.
<i>Pedieis</i>	Hdt.
Pella	Hdt.; Xen. <i>Hell.</i> , Ps.-Skylax, Π.
Pellene	Xen. <i>Hell.</i> , Π.
Peparethos	Dem.; Ps.-Skylax, ?
Pergamon	Xen. <i>Hell.</i> , P.
Perge	Ps.-Skylax, P.
Perinthos	Hdt.; [Xen. <i>Anab.</i>]; Ps.-Skylax, P.
Perkote	Hdt., P.
Phalasarna	Ps.-Skylax, P.
Phanagorou	Ps.-Skylax, P.
Phanoteis	<i>Hell. Oxy.</i> , Π.
Pharos	Ps.-Skylax, Π.
Pharsalos	Thuc., Π.
Phaselis	Ps.-Skylax, Π.
Phasis	Ps.-Skylax, P.
<i>Phellos</i>	Ps.-Skylax
Pherai	Dem., Π.
Phleious	Xen. <i>Hell.</i> , Π.
Phokaia	Hdt.; Ps.-Skylax, Π.
Phrixai	Hdt., Π.
Piloros	Hdt., Π.
Pinara	Inscr., P.
Pitane	Hdt., Π.
Pithekoussa	Ps.-Skylax, ?
Plakia	Ps.-Skylax, P.
Plataiai	Inscr.; Hdt.; Thuc.; Aen. Tact.; Isoc.; Dem., Π.
Poiessa	Ps.-Skylax, Π.
Pordoselene	Inscr.; Ps.-Skylax, Π.
Posideion	Hdt., P.
Poteidaia	Hdt. Thuc.; Aen. Tact.; Xen. <i>Hell.</i> ; Isoc.; Din., Π.
Prasia	Ps.-Skylax, L.
Priapos	Ps.-Skylax, P.
Priene	Hdt.; Xen. <i>Hell.</i> ; Ps.-Skylax, Π.
Prokonnesos	Hdt.; Ps.-Skylax, Π.
Pronnoi	Thuc., Π.
Pydna	Din.; Ps.-Skylax, Π.
Pyrgos	Hdt., R.
Pyrrha	Thuc.; Ps.-Skylax, Π.

Rhegion	Thuc.; Ps.-Skylax, Π.
Rhenaia	Hyp., Π.
Rhodos	Inscr.; Ps.-Skylax, Π.
Rhoiteion	Hdt., Π.
Salamis (Cyprus)	Hdt.; Isoc.; Ps.-Skylax, Π.
Salamis	Ps.-Skylax, Π.?
Sale	Hdt., P.
Same	Thuc., Π.
Samos	Hdt.; Thuc.; Xen. <i>Hell.</i> ; Isoc.; Ps.-Skylax; Din., Π.
Sane (Athos)	Hdt., Π.
Sane (Pallene)	Hdt., Π.
Sarte	Hdt., Π.
Selinous	Xen. <i>Hell.</i> , Π.
<i>Selinous</i> (Peparethos)	Ps.-Skylax
Selymbria	Hdt.; Ps.-Skylax, Π.
Seriphos	Ps.-Skylax, Π.
Sermylia	Hdt.; Thuc.; Ps.-Skylax, Π.
Sesamos	Ps.-Skylax, P.
Sestos	Hdt.; Thuc.; Xen. <i>Hell.</i> Isoc., Π.
Side (Lakedaimon)	Ps.-Skylax, L.
Side (Pamphylia)	Ps.-Skylax, P.
Sidoussa	Hecat., P.
<i>Sige</i>	Ps.-Skylax
Sikinos	Ps.-Skylax, Π.
Sikyon	Xen. <i>Hell.</i> ; Ps.-Skylax, Π.
Singos	Hdt., Π.
Sinope	Hdt.; Xen. <i>Anab.</i> ; Ps.-Skylax, Π.
Siphai	Ps.-Skylax, Π.
Siphnos	Hdt.; Isoc., Π.
Skandeia	Thuc., L.
Skepsis	Xen. <i>Hell.</i> , Π.
Skiathos	Ps.-Skylax, P.
Skione	Hdt., Π.
Skyros	Ps.-Skylax, Π.
Smila	Hecat.; Hdt., Π.
Smyrna	Hdt., Π.
<i>Sollion</i>	Thuc.
Soloi (Kilikia)	Ps.-Skylax, P.
Soloi (Cyprus)	Hdt. Ps.-Skylax, Π.
Sparta	Inscr.; Hdt.; Thuc.; Xen. <i>Hell.</i> ; Isoc., Π.
Spartolos	Thuc., Π.
Stagiros	Hdt., Π.
Stolos	Inscr., Π.
Stratos	Thuc., Π.
Stryme	Hdt., ?

Sybaris	Hdt., Π.
Sylleion	Ps.-Skylax, P.
Syrakousai	Hdt.; Thuc.; Ps.-Skylax, Π.
Taucheira	Hdt., P.
Tegea	Thuc.; Xen. <i>Hell.</i> , Π.
Telmessos	Inscr.; Ps.-Skylax, P.
Temnos	Hdt., Π.
Tenedos	Hdt., Π.
Tenos	Ps.-Skylax, Π.
Teos	Inscr.; Hdt.; Thuc.; Aen. <i>Tact.</i> ; Ps.-Skylax, Π.
Tethronion	Hdt., Π.
Teuthrania	Xen. <i>Hell.</i> , P.
Thasos	Thuc.; Dem.; Ps.-Skylax, Π.
Theangela	Inscr., Π.
Thebai	Inscr.; Hdt.; Xen. <i>Hell.</i> ; <i>Vect.</i> ; Isoc.; Dem.; Hyp., Π.
<i>Themiskyra</i>	Ps.-Skylax
Thera	Hdt., Π.
Therambos	Hdt., P.
Therme	Hecat.; Hdt.; Theopomp. Ps.-Skylax, P.
Thespiiai	Hdt.; Xen. <i>Hell.</i> ; Dem., Π.
Thorikos	Hecat., ?
Thourioi	Ps.-Skylax; Arist., Π.
Thraustos	Xen. <i>Hell.</i> , R.
Thyrea	Thuc., L.
Thyssos	Hdt.; Ps.-Skylax, Π.
Tieion	Ps.-Skylax, P.
Tlos	Inscr. R.
Torone	Hdt.; Thuc.; Xen. <i>Hell.</i> ; Isoc.; Ps.-Skylax, Π.
<i>Trachis</i>	Hdt.
Trapezous	Xen. <i>Anab.</i> ; Ps.-Skylax, Π.
Tritea	Hdt., Π.
Troizen	Inscr.; Dem.; Ps.-Skylax, Π.
Troy	Isoc., Π.
Xanthos	Inscr., Π. - .
Zakynthos	Xen. <i>Hell.</i> ; Ps.-Skylax, Π.
Zankle	Hdt., Π.
Zeleia	Inscr., Π.
<i>Zephyrion</i>	Ps.-Skylax
Zone	Hdt., P.

Every site listed above is called *polis* in the urban sense at least once and often in several of the texts we have studied. What varies is the evidence for assuming that every site was not just a town but also the urban centre of a *polis* in the political sense. For some of the sites we have studied there is no evidence whatsoever apart from the reference to this site being a *polis* town, for others the comparative evi-

dence we have is late, and accordingly of no value if it concerns contemporary society. If the late source is a historical reference to the Archaic and Classical periods, it is relevant, but not necessarily reliable. However, the great majority of the sites are, directly or indirectly, attested as *poleis* in the political sense in sources of the Archaic and Classical periods. The material can be organised into six categories.

1. From the consolidated list printed above I have excluded twenty-three sites each of which is called *polis* only once and in passing and goes unmentioned in any other text, including Hellenistic and Roman sources.⁴⁰ In all these cases it is impossible to say anything about whether the site in question was a *polis* in the political sense too. Some of these sites may not even have been a *polis* in the urban sense. In several instances there are problems with the transmission of the text, and most of the sites, especially those in Ps.-Skylax, are so remote and obscure that the author may have been misinformed or have misunderstood his informant.

2. Next come forty sites which appear again in late sources, such as Strabo or Stephanus Byzantius. In some cases the site is explicitly called *polis* in the late source but then either in a contemporary context or, even if the site-classification seems to be retrospective, the information is not precise enough or reliable enough to allow us to test the *lex Hafniensis*. In all forty cases the site in question may have been a *polis* in the political sense as well as in the urban sense, but lack of evidence forces us to suspend judgement. In the list above these forty toponyms are italicised.⁴¹

40 Achilleion in Ionia (Xen. *Hell.* 4.8.17); Alalia in Corsica (Hdt. 1.165.1); Ameneia (Stameneia) in Asia Minor (Ps.-Skylax 88); Becheirias in Asia Minor (Ps.-Skylax 84); Chalisia in Libya (Ephoros fr. 52); Charadrous in Macedonia (Ps.-Skylax 66); Gerai in Ionia (Ps.-Skylax 98); Halisarna in Aiolis (Xen. *Hell.* 3.1.6); Herakleia in Illyria (Ps.-Skylax 22); Kallipolis in Mysia (Ps.-Skylax 93); Kerasous (Ps.-Skylax 89); Kinyps (Ps.-Skylax 109); Koloussa in Paphlagonia (Ps.-Skylax 90); Larisa in Achaia (Theopomp. fr. 386); Methana in Lakedaïmon (Ps.-Skylax 46); Noudion in Triphylia (Hdt. 4.148.1); Oasis in Egypt (Hdt. 3.26.1); Odeinios in Asia Minor (Ps.-Skylax 83); Palaigambriion in Aiolis (Xen. *Hell.* 3.1.6); Phara in Akarnania (Ps.-Skylax 34); Pistyros in Thrace (Hdt. 7.109.2); Sindos in the Thermaic Gulf (Hdt. 7.123.3); Tetrakis in Asia Minor (Ps.-Skylax 89).

41 Alapta in Macedonia (Ps.-Skylax 66); Anemourion in Kilikia (Ps.-Skylax 102); Batia in Epeiros (Theopomp. fr. 206); Boucheta in Epeiros (Theopomp. fr. 206; Dem. 7.32); Bouthrotos in Epeiros (Hecat. fr. 106); Charadrous in Kilikia (Ps.-Skylax 102); Choirades in the Pontic region (Hecat. fr. 204; Ps.-Skylax 88); Dioskouris in Kolchis (Ps.-Skylax 81); Elateia in Epeiros (Theopomp. fr. 206; Dem. 7.32); Ephyre in Epeiros (Thuc. 1.46.4); Eutaia in Arkadia (Xen. *Hell.* 6.5.12); Gagia in Lykia (Ps.-Skylax 100); Harmene in the Pontic region (Ps.-Skylax 89); Hermonassa in the Pontic region (Hecat. fr. 208; Theopomp. fr. 370); Hydroeis in Illyria (Ps.-Skylax 27); Kadyanda in Lykia (*SEG* 36 1216 4); Karambis in Paphlagonia (Ps.-Skylax 90); Kasthanaia in Thessaly (Hdt. 7.183.3; 188.1); Kibyra in Pamphylia (Ps.-Skylax 101); Kikynethos (Ps.-Skylax 64); Kinolis in Paphlagonia (Ps.-Skylax 90); Kombreia in Krousis (Hdt. 7.123.2); Korakesion in Pamphylia (Ps.-Skylax 101); Kynos (Hecat. fr. 131; Ps.-Skylax 60); Kytoris in Paphlagonia (Ps.-Skylax 90); Leukophrys in Ionia (Xen. *Hell.* 4.8.17); Lipaxos in Krousis (Hdt. 7.123.2); Lykastos in the Pontic region (Ps.-Skylax 89); Mesambria in Thrace (Hdt. 7.108.2); Nonakris in Arkadia (Hdt. 6.74.1–2); Ophioussa in the Pontic region (Ps.-Skylax 68); Panormos in Peparethos (Ps.-Skylax 58); Pedieis in Phokis (Hdt. 8.33.1); Phellos in Lykia (Ps.-Skylax 100); Selinous in Peparethos (Ps.-Skylax 58); Sige in Charkedon (Ps.-Skylax 111); Sollion in Akarnania (Thuc. 2.30.1); Themiskyra in the Pontic Region (Ps.-Skylax 89); Trachis in Malis (Hdt. 7.199.1); Zephyrion in Kilikia (Ps.-Skylax 102).

3. The third group of *poleis* is made up of fourteen sites for which there is no relevant evidence of the Archaic and Classical periods, but evidence of the Hellenistic period strongly indicates that these sites existed as *poleis* in the political sense before 323 B.C.⁴² In some cases the evidence is contemporary, i.e. the sources show that the town in question was a *polis* state in the Hellenistic period, but they can be combined with other evidence indicating that this site-classification can be interpreted retrospectively to cover the classical period as well.⁴³ In other cases the evidence is historical, i.e. a Hellenistic or Roman source which explicitly states that a given site was a *polis* state in the Archaic and/or Classical periods.⁴⁴ The sites belonging in this group are marked with an R.

4. The Lakedaemonian and Messenian perioikic communities constitute a separate group. In numerous classical sources they are collectively classified as *poleis*, mostly in the urban sense, but frequently in the political sense as well.⁴⁵ They were, of course, dependencies, but nevertheless *poleis*. In Thucydides and Ps.-Skylax ten named perioikic communities are described as *poleis* in the urban sense.⁴⁶ Combining the individual attestation of these communities as *poleis* with the general classification of Lakedaemonian perioikic towns as *polis* communities, there is no reason to doubt that these towns were *poleis* in both senses of the term. In the list above they are marked with a L.

5. The fifth group consists of sites which are not explicitly called a *polis* state in any early source, but in each case the community in question is known to possess one or more characteristics which are usually connected with being a *polis* in the

42 Abai in Phokis (Hdt. 8.33.1); Aloros in Macedonia (Ps.-Skylax 66); Alpenos in East Lokris (Hdt. 7.216.1); Amphikaia in Phokis (Hdt. 8.33.1); Ankon in Italy (Ps.-Skylax 16); Drymos in Phokis (Hdt. 8.33.1); Heloros in Sicily (Ps.-Skylax 13); Heraion in Thrace (Hdt. 4.90.2); Orikos in Epeiros (Ps.-Skylax 26); Paion in Arkadia (Hdt. 6.127.3); Patara in Lykia (Ps.-Skylax 100); Pyrgos in Triphylia (Hdt. 4.148.4); Thraustos in Elis (Xen. *Hell.* 7.4.14); Tlos in Lykia (*SEG* 36 1216.4).

43 Heloros in Sicily, for example, is attested as a *polis* in Diodoros 23.4.1 (referring to 263 B.C.) but the impressive remains of Archaic and Classical city walls and buildings strongly suggest *polis* status in the earlier period as well.

44 At 10.3.1–2 Pausanias has a list of all the Phokian *poleis* dioecised by Philip in 346 B.C. Apart from Aiolidai (Hdt. 3.35.1) Pausanias' list matches Herodotos' list at 8.33–5 of Phokian towns destroyed by the Persians in 480 B.C.; but for three of the sites classified as *polis* in the urban sense by Herodotos and in the political sense by Pausanias there is only evidence of the Hellenistic period to corroborate Pausanias' information; the three sites are Abai, Antikyra and Drymos. For a fourth site, Amphikaia, there is no other evidence at all. Combining the sources, however, I can see no reason to doubt that these four *poleis* towns were *poleis* in the political sense as well when they were burnt down by Xerxes in 480 B.C. – Three towns mentioned by Herodotos are missing from Pausanias' list: Aiolidai (see p. 176 *supra*) Pedieis (listed *supra* n. 41) and Triteia (see p. 208 *infra*).

45 The sources are quoted in translation and carefully analysed by Shipley in *CPCActs* 4 (1997) 206–11.

46 Anthene (Thuc. 5.41.2); Boia (Ps.-Skylax 46); Epidauros Limera Ps.-Skylax 46); Kythera including Skandeia (Thuc. 4.54.1; Xen. *Hell.* 4.8.8; Ps.-Skylax 46); Las (Ps.-Skylax 46); Methone (Thuc. 2.25.2; Ps.-Skylax 46); Prasia (Ps.-Skylax 46); Side (Ps.-Skylax 46); Thyrea (Thuc. 5.57.1). For an exhaustive treatment of the evidence, see Shipley in *CPCActs* 4 (1997) 226–32, 243–4. In the list Kythera and Skandeia are recorded separately, see *infra* p. 195.

political sense. All these *poleis* are marked with a P. There are 96 *poleis* in this group.

6. In the sixth and by far the largest group are all the sites which are explicitly referred to as *poleis* in the political sense in at least one Archaic or Classical source. All these *poleis* are marked with a Π. There are 249 such *poleis*.

III

We are left with the following twenty problematical sites. They are called *polis* in a Classical source but – for various reasons – their political status as *polis* is in doubt and has been contested. In the above list they are marked with a query.

Aigion in Aitolia (Thuc. 3.97.2)
 Alpenos in East Lokris (Hdt. 7.216.1)
 Anthele in Oitaia (Hdt. 7.176.2)
 Athenai Diades in Euboia (Ephoros fr. 24)
 Dystos in Euboia (Theopompos fr. 149)
 Eion in Thrace (Hdt. 7.113.1)
 Helisson in Arkadia (*SEG* 37 340)
 Kasmenai in Sicily (Hdt. 7.155.2)
 Kyllene in Elis (Ps.-Skylax 43)
 Laureion in Attika (Xen. *Vect.* 4.50)
 Mylai in Sicily (Ps.-Skylax 13)
 Naukratis in Libya (Hdt. 2.178.1)
 Nauplia in Argolis (Ps.-Skylax 49)
 Orobiai in Euboia (Thuc. 3.89.2)
 Pithekoussa in Italy (Ps.-Skylax 10)
 Salamis in the Saronic Gulf (Ps.-Skylax 57)
 Skandeia in Kythera (Thuc. 4.54.1)
 Stryme in Thrace (Hdt. 7.108.2)
 Thorikos in Attika (Hecat. fr. 126)
 Tlos in Lykia (*SEG* 36 1216.4)

Seventeen of these twenty *poleis* can be organised into groups: in addition to being called *poleis* some are attested as harbour towns (a), some as civic subdivisions (b), some as garrisoned forts (c), and some as *emporía* (d). Of the remaining three *poleis*, one was an inland town in Aitolia (e), one was an Athenian klerouchy (f), and one a planned town in the mining district of Attika (g).

(a) Some of these problematical *poleis* served as harbours of inland *poleis*, viz. Skandeia, Kyllene and Nauplia. Skandeia, the harbour of Kythera, is called a *polis* by Thucydides at 4.54.1, although Kythera was a one-*polis* island. But the explicit distinction made by Thucydides between Skandeia as ἡ ἐπὶ θαλάσση πόλις (4.54.1) and Kythera as ἡ ἄνω πόλις (4.54.2) indicates that Thucydides took both Skandeia and Kythera to be one half of a *polis*, so that Skandeia was viewed as a part of Kythera and not as a *polis* in its own right.⁴⁷ For a parallel, see Thuc. 2.48.2, a

47 See *CPCActs* 2 (1995) 43–4; *CPCActs* 3 (1996) 29; *CPCActs* 4 (1997) 228.

passage in which ἡ Ἀθηναίων πόλις comprises both Athens and Peiraeus whereas ἡ ἄνω πόλις is used a few lines further on to distinguish Athens from Peiraeus.

Similarly in Ps.-Skylax *polis* is applied both to Kyllene, the harbour of Elis⁴⁸ and to Nauplia, the harbour of Argos.⁴⁹ (See *infra* p. 212). By analogy with Skandeia it can be argued that harbour and inland town were thought of as two parts of one *polis* in both the urban and the political sense. However, Kyllene is a long way from Elis and, alternatively, it may be argued that in the fourth century B.C. Kyllene was a *polis* dependent on Elis, like several others in the region. An explanation along this line is supported by the fact that some harbour towns became political communities and *poleis* in their own right, though usually only dependent *poleis* of the inland *poleis* they served. Thus, at least in some periods, Notion was a dependent *polis* and the harbour of Kolophon, see *supra* 147. Likewise, Naulochos was a dependent *polis* and the harbour of Priene, see *supra* 169 and *CPCActs* 2 (1995) 44.⁵⁰

(b) For no less than seven of these *poleis* the problem is that, apart from being called *polis* in a classical source, they are attested as *komai* or *demoi* and, thus, as civic subdivisions of another *polis*. The seven are: Alpenos, Anthele, Athenai Diades, Dystos, Helisson, Orobiai and Thorikos.⁵¹

Athenai Diades and Orobiai are attested both as demes of Hestiaia and as *poleis* in the urban sense, Athenai Diades in Ephoros fr. 24, Orobiai at Thuc. 3.89.2. There is some evidence that they were *poleis* in the political sense too, see *supra* p. 142 on Athenai Diades and *infra* 209 on Orobiai.

Dystos is a deme of Eretria, but is called a *polis* in the urban sense by Theopompos (fr. 149). Like Gryneai and Styra, which in all probability were *poleis* before they became Eretrian demes and, perhaps, persisted as dependent *poleis* and demes simultaneously, Dystos may have been both a *polis* and a deme when attacked by Philip in ca. 343 B.C., see *supra* p. 145.

The best evidence of a community which had such a double status is the treaty between Mantinea and Helisson of the early fourth century B.C. It is stipulated that Helisson shall incorporate its *chora* and *polis* into Mantinea and the laws of the Mantineans (lines 4–5). The reference to the laws of Mantinea suggests that *polis* is

48 Ps.-Skylax 43: ἔθνος Ἥλις καὶ πόλεις ἐν αὐτῇ. Κυλλήνη καὶ λιμὴν, καὶ ποταμὸς Ἀλφειός (the text printed in Klausen's edn. 1831). For καὶ λιμὴν = πόλις καὶ λιμὴν, see *CPCPapers* 3 (1996) 142. Kyllene is called τὸ Ἥλειον ἐπίγειον at Thuc. 1.30.2 and 2.84.5; it is described as a fortified place by Xenophon at *Hell.* 3.2.27, 30. Located at modern Killini; for the archaeological remains, see Roy in *CPCActs* 4 (1997) 299–304 with further references.

49 Ps.-Skylax 49: πόλις ἐστὶν Ἄργος καὶ ἐν αὐτῇ Ναυπλία πόλις καὶ λιμὴν. Nauplia was situated in the territory of Argos (Arist. *HA* 602a8) and frequently referred to as the port of Argos (e.g. Diod. 4.33.9). It is worth noting that Nauplia is *not* attested among the thirty-eight known *komai*, see N. Jones, *Public Organization in Ancient Greece* (Philadelphia 1987) 114. It is uncertain whether the *phratRIA* Ναυπλιαδαὶ (*SEG* 31 306.9) is to be connected with Nauplia or only with Nauplios, the son of Poseidon after whom Nauplia got its name. Nauplia is called *polis* at Steph. Byz. 470.19. In the Archaic period Nauplia was, allegedly, a member of the Kalaurian Amphiktyony but conquered and replaced in the Amphiktyonic council by Argos (Strab. 8.6.11, 14; Paus. 4.35.2). This tradition is dismissed as Hellenistic propaganda by J.M. Hall, "How Argive was the 'Argive' Heraion?" *AJA* 99 (1995) 583–5.

50 See also S. Hornblower, *Mausolos* (Oxford 1982) 327–8.

51 See *CPCPapers* 4 (1997) 37.

here used in the political sense and that the Heliswassians are requested to incorporate their territory (*chora*) and state (*polis*) into the Mantinean state. Next, it is stipulated that Helisson shall become a *kome* of Mantinea, i.e. a municipality (lines 7–8); but the treaty also stipulates that Helisson shall persist as a *polis* in the urban sense, i.e. there is not to be any *synoikismos* (lines 6–7). Finally, it is stipulated that, like the other *poleis*, a *theoros* shall be sent from Helisson (lines 8–9). The reference must be to a board of (major) magistrates serving in Mantinea.⁵² The Mantineans must have controlled a number of dependent *poleis*, as they did in the fifth century.⁵³ By the treaty Helisson, was made one of these dependent *poleis* (lines 4–6), and, like the other dependent *poleis*, it acquired the right to contribute a *theoros*. Thus, Helisson seems to have been both a *kome* in the administrative sense and, simultaneously, a *polis* in the urban as well as in the political sense.⁵⁴

What we know about Alpenos and Anthele, both lying south of Thermopylai, may now be interpreted in the light of the treaty between Mantinea and Helisson. Our source is Herodotos' description of the Persian advance in 480: Alpenos is classified as a *kome* at 7.176.5, but as a *polis* at 7.216.1. And Anthele is classified as a *polis* at 7.176.2, but as a *kome* at 7.200.2.⁵⁵ Alpenos was probably a *polis* state in the third century B.C., whereas we know next to nothing about Anthele. Perhaps Herodotos is just careless and in both cases mistaken about one of the classifications. But we cannot preclude the possibility that both classifications were correct and that both places had a double status.

Thorikos, however, is different. It is true that Thorikos was called a *polis* by Hekataios (fr. 126), but the fragment in question may have come, not from the *Periegesis* but from the *Genealogiai*, in which case the reference seems to be Thorikos as one of the (mythical) twelve *poleis* into which Attika was divided before the political unification of the whole region by Theseus (Philoch. [FGrHist 328] fr. 94).⁵⁶

(c) Three of the problematical sites, viz., Eion, Kasmenai and Mylai, were fortified settlements and are often believed to have mere *phrouria* and not *poleis*.

Eion seems to have struck coins ca. 500–440 (Head 197). During and after the Persian War it was ruled by Bogen (Hdt. 7.113.1) and is described as an *asty* (Hdt. 7.107.2). Eion was an Athenian klerouchy between 476/5 and 405/4 (Thuc. 1.98.1; Schol. Aeschin. 2.34) and is called an *emporion* at Thuc. 4.102.4. According to Theopompos (FGrHist 115 fr. 55) Eion was inhabited by *Amphipolitai* when in 355 B.C. the Athenians conquered and destroyed the place. In the most detailed study of the status of this settlement Isaac claims that Eion was a fortification, but never a

52 For *theoroi* as major magistrates in Mantinea, see Thuc. 5.47.9: ἐξορκούντων δὲ οἱ θεῶροι καὶ οἱ πελέμαρχοι. For *theoroi* in Tegea, see Xen. *Hell.* 6.5.7 (θεάτροις codd.: corr. Dobrøe). For *theoroi* in Orchomenos, see L. Dubois, *Recherches sur le dialecte arcadien* II (Louvain-la-Neuve 1986) 134.30.

53 See Nielsen in *CPCPapers* 3 (1996) 79–84; note that Mantinea's fifth-century dependencies were probably controlled differently from its fourth-century dependencies.

54 See *CPCPapers* 2 (1995) 73–4; *CPCPapers* 3 (1996) 67–70; *CPCPapers* 4 (1997) 35; *supra* p. 166.

55 See *CPCActs* 3 (1996) 41, 43.

56 See *CPCPapers* 4 (1997) 25–7.

proper settlement⁵⁷ – which means that it cannot have been a *polis*. Isaac's view is based, *inter alia*, on the common belief that an Athenian klerouchy and an *emporion* cannot have been a *polis*. But the evidence shows that Athenian klerouchies were *poleis*, see *CPCPapers* 4 (1997) 33–4 and *infra* p. 200, and that almost every *emporion* was a *polis* which possessed an *emporion*, see *CPCPapers* 4 (1997) 86–91. Furthermore every settlement called *asty* is attested as being called *polis* as well, see *CPCActs* 4 (1997) 58–60. The problem is rather whether Eion before 476/5 was a *Greek polis*, and that question cannot be answered before the place has been properly excavated, cf. D. Hereward in *AJA* 67 (1963) 75.

Mylai was founded by Zankle (Ps.-Skymnos 286–8). Two dedications in Olympia set up by the Messenians in the 480s to celebrate a victory over the Mylaians strongly indicate that Mylai, at least before being defeated, had been a self-governing community and undoubtedly a *polis* (*SEG* 24313–4: Μεσσηνιοὶ Μυλαίων). In his account of the Athenians' Sicilian expedition in 427 BC Thucydides refers to Mylai as belonging to the Messenians (3.90.2: Μυλᾶς τῶν Μεσσηνίων) and being held by two Messenian regiments. Describing the same events Diodoros calls Mylai a *φρούριον*, but the inhabitants Mylaians, not Messenians (12.54.5). In 394 the expropriated Naxians and Katanians are placed in Mylai, now classified as a *polis* (Diod. 14.87.1–3). Mylai is called a *φρούριον* once again at Diod. 19.65.3. In his account of the First Punic War Polybios refers to ἡ Μυλαίτις χώρα, which shows that Mylai had a territory of its own (Polyb. 1.23.2). Like many other Sicilian cities Mylai seems time and again to have changed its status, being sometimes an independent *polis*, sometimes a dependent *polis*, and sometimes perhaps just a *phrourion*. Ps.-Skylax's classification of Mylai as a *polis* cannot be dated more precisely than, roughly, the fourth century, and there is no compelling reason to take Mylai as an example of a fortified place which was not a *polis* in the political sense too.⁵⁸

Kasmenai was a sub-colony founded by Syracuse in ca. 643 B.C. (Thuc. 6.5.2); it is called a *polis* town by Herodotos in his account of Gelon's conquest of Syracuse in 485 B.C. (7.155.2), and a bronze plaque of the same period, probably found in Kasmenai, is inscribed with a grant of citizenship (*LSAG*² p. 276 no. 15). In the extremely meagre written evidence there is nothing that speaks against Kasmenai being a *polis* in the political sense. In this case the obstacle to accepting Kasmenai as a proper *polis* is the archaeological evidence. Kasmenai was situated on Monte Casale and excavations show that "the settlement was laid out according to a well defined plan in the second half of the 7th century B.C. The urban plan consists of at least 38 narrow streets running perpendicularly to the long axis of the plateau and delimiting the single, c. 25 m wide, narrow blocks. Neither traces nor evidence have been found for a larger, transversal street-net and the plan is rather primitive in its lay-out, mirroring the function of the place, a fort or garrison to defend the territory of Syracuse. The situation of the site, topographically as well as morphologically, is wholly unsuitable for a colony, and the nature of the votive material from the settlement's shrine also point to a military function as a *φρούριον*."⁵⁹ The sheer number

57 B. Isaac, *The Greek Settlements in Thrace until the Macedonian Conquest* (Leiden 1986) 60–3.

58 For this view, see K. Ziegler in *RE* 16 (1935) 1042.

59 Fischer-Hansen in *CPCPapers* 3 (1996) 336, summarising: A. Di Vita, "Un contributo

of inhabitants, some 7–8,000 altogether, shows that the site must have been a proper town, and that some 2,000 soldiers max. must have been garrisoned in the town *with their families*. Also, no more than ca. 60% of the town have been excavated and the absence of, e.g., an *agora* and public space in general carries no weight as the evidence is.

(d) In discussion of the status of Naukratis, Stryme and Pithekoussai the issue has been whether these sites were *emporion* or *poleis*.

Naukratis is described both as a *polis* and as an *emporion* by Herodotos at 2.178–9, and the status of Naukratis has become a much debated issue in recent years.⁶⁰ Naukratis was indisputably a *polis* in the Hellenistic period, see ἡ πόλις ἡ Ναυκρατίων (*OGIS* 120.1, now dated C31). It was also a *polis* in the fourth century as indicated by a C4m proxeny decree for Θεογένης ὁ Ναυκρατίτης (*IG* II² 206), by Naukratis being recorded among the *poleis* that contributed to the rebuilding of the temple of Apollo in Delphi (*CID* II 4.I.37), and by coins inscribed NAU and by their style dated to the fourth century (Head, *HN*² 845). That it was also a *polis* in the fifth century is implied by the attestation of a city-ethnic in an Attic C5I sepulchral inscription (*IG* II² 9984, see *CPCPapers* 3 [1996] 184–5) and by the reference in what is probably a C4f source to traditional rites performed in the *prytaneion* of Naukratis (Ath. 149D–E, see *CPCPapers* 4 [1997] 105). What speaks against Naukratis being a *polis* in the political sense is (a) the *a priori* belief that *emporion* and *polis* are opposed types of settlement, and (b) that the dependent status of Naukratis is incompatible with being a *polis*. But almost all attested *emporion* were also *poleis*, see *CPCPapers* 4 (1997) 86–91, and hundreds of *poleis* were dependencies, see *CPCPapers* 2 (1995) 36–43.

In Herodotos Stryme is called a Thasian *polis* (7.108.2) and according to Herakleides Philostephanos (quoted by Harpokration s.v. Στρυμὴν) Galepsos and the island Stryme were Thasian colonies (*apoikiai*) along the coast of Thrace. Harpokration calls Stryme an *emporion* but does not cite any authority for the classification. It is, however, reasonable to assume that Thucydides' reference to Thasian *emporion* on the Thracian coast includes Stryme (1.100.2). In 361/60 the Thasians quarrelled with the Maroneians over Stryme and were forced by the Athenians to settle the dispute by arbitration (Dem. 12.17; Philochoros [*FGrHist* 328] fr. 43), and in this connection Stryme is called a *χωρίον* (Dem. 50.22). If Stryme was an *emporion* in the mid-fourth century B.C., it was probably a *polis* which had an *emporion*, see *CPCPapers* 4 (1997) 86–91, and there is no other way of deciding whether in the fourth century Stryme was a still a *polis* like, e.g. Thasian Galepsos and Oisyme, (Ps.–Skylax 67) or whether it was just a stronghold.

all'urbanistica greca di Sicilia: Casmene," *Atti 7° CongrIntArchClass* (1958) (Roma 1961) 2, 69–77; D. Moreschini, "Monte Casale," *BTCGI* 10 (1992) 290.

60 That Naukratis was an *emporion* but not a *polis* has been argued most recently by A. Bresson, "Rhodes, l'Hellénion et le statut de Naukratis (VIe–IVe siècle a.C.)," *DHA* 6 (1980) 316–7, and by H. Bowden, "The Greek Settlement and Sanctuaries at Naukratis: Herodotus and Archaeology," in *CPCPapers* 3 (1996) 29–30. The *polis* status of Naukratis has been argued, persuasively in my opinion, by M.M. Austin, *Greece and Egypt in the Archaic Age*, *PCPS* suppl. 2 (1970) 29–33, interpreting Hdt. 2.178. Austin's position is defended with new arguments in *CPCPapers* 4 (1997) 91–4.

Pithekoussai is recorded as a *polis* at Ps.-Skylax 10. Yet, it was hardly a *polis* in the late fourth century B.C. when the final version of Ps.-Skylax's work was put together. The inhabitants are reported to have left the island at an early date (Strabo 5.4.9). The archaeological record testifies to continuous habitation throughout the Archaic, Classical and Hellenistic periods, but also shows that Pithekoussai dwindled to insignificance from ca. 700 B.C. onwards.⁶¹ The chronology of Ps.-Skylax' *Periplus*, however, spans almost two centuries and the chapters about Sicily and Italy were never meticulously revised. Thus, in chapter 13 Himera is still recorded as a *polis* although it was destroyed by the Carthaginians in 408 B.C., see *CPCPapers* 3 (1996) 137–8. Similarly, Ps.-Skylax's reference to Pithekoussai as a *polis*, if at all reliable, must be treated as a survival of a piece of information from the Archaic period. An estimate based on excavated burials suggests that Pithekoussai had an average living population of roughly 4,200 – 6,900 persons,⁶² certainly enough to form a self-governing *polis*. Again, the classification of Pithekoussai as either an *emporion* or a *polis* has been marred by the *a priori* assumption that Pithekoussai, if it was an *emporion*, was not a *polis* at the same time.⁶³

(e) A special problem is the status of the *poleis* on islands described in Ps.-Skylax as either δίπολις (Ikáros, Ikos, Mykonos, Skiathos) or τρίπολις (Amorgos, Karpathos, Peparethos) or τετράπολις (Euboia, Keos). In *CPCPapers* 3 (1996) Pernille Flensted-Jensen and I expressed caution about the political status of the *poleis* in Ikos, Peparethos and Skiathos. In *CPCActs* 4 (1997) 483 n. 25, however, Gary Reger concluded: "In general, Ps.-Skylax seems remarkably well-informed about the situation on multipolite islands, and I am disinclined to reject his testimony even when it is apparently contradicted by other evidence." Reger is right that the contradictions are, probably, apparent rather than real, and I have no further comment.

(f) Aigition is traditionally identified with modern Strouza where there are remains of a small Classical-Hellenistic fortified settlement with a walled akropolis.⁶⁴ Thucydides is our only written source, but there is a constantly growing amount of evidence indicating that *poleis* may have appeared earlier than traditionally believed and, on the assumption that the old tribal structure was only gradually replaced by a *polis* structure, there is no particular reason to deny that Aigition may well have been a *polis* in the political sense too, See Hansen in *CPCActs* 4 (1997) 173–5 with Funke's reply *ibidem* 176.

(g) Salamis is called *polis* in the urban sense at Ps.-Skylax 57, and at Pind. *Isth.* 5.48 πόλις Αἶαντος is a reference to the island as a *polis* in the political sense,

61 D. Ridgway, *The First Western Greeks* (Cambridge 1992).

62 I. Morris, "The Absolute Chronology of the Greeks Colonies in Sicily," *Acta Archaeologica* 67 (1996) 57.

63 Pithekoussai is called "a precolonial Euboian *emporion*" by D. Ridgway, "Relations between Cyprus and the West in the Precolonial Period," in G.P. Carratelli (ed.), *The Western Greeks* (Bompiani 1996) 117; Similarly, Kyme is referred to as the first colonial *polis*: G.P. Carratelli, "An Outline of the Political History of the Greeks in the West," *ibidem* 145. E. Greco, on the other hand, "Pithekoussai: *emporion* o *apoikia*," *Annali di Archeologia e storia antica* 1 (1994) 16 is tempted – with some reservations – to define Pithekoussai as a "*polis autonoma*." See the discussion in *CPCPapers* 4 (1997) 99–100.

64 S. Bomelje & P.K. Doorn, *Aetolia and the Aetolians* (Utrecht 1987) 75.

although in a semi-mythological context. The ethnic Σαλαμίνιος is attested both individually (*IG* II² 10203, C4m) and collectively (*IG* II² 1225.5, C3m), and the name of the community is ὁ δῆμος ὁ Σαλαμινίων (*IG* II² 1225.4). Since Salamis was not an Attic deme, this usage corroborates Ps.-Skylax's classification of Salamis as a *polis*, and is further corroborated by the numerous references to the Lemnian towns Hephaistia and Myrine as *poleis* in the political sense, see *CPCPapers* 4 (1997) 33–4.

(h) The last problematical case is Xenophon's proposal at *Poroi* 4.50 to increase the number of mining slaves and to found a new *polis* in the Laureion district: πολυανθρωπίας περὶ τὰ μέταλλα ἀθροιζομένης καὶ ἀπ' ἀγορᾶς τῆς ἐκεῖ καὶ ἀπ' οἰκῶν περὶ τὰργύρεια δημοσίων καὶ ἀπὸ καμίνων καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν ἄλλων ἀπάντων πρόσοδοι ἂν πολλοὶ γίγνοιτο. ἰσχυρῶς γὰρ καὶ αὐτὴ πολυάνθρωπος ἂν γένοιτο πόλις, εἰ οὕτως κατασκευασθεῖη. Here the word *polis* designates what was *not* the political centre of a *polis*, and even about a *polis* of slaves, something which, according to Aristotle, could not exist (*Pol.* 1280a32–3).

To sum up. In Xenophon's *Poroi* there is no doubt that *polis* is used about an imaginary nucleated settlement which was *not* a *polis* state.⁶⁵ In all the other nineteen doubtful cases it is perfectly possible that the site called *polis* in the urban sense was also a *polis* in the political sense. In the majority of the cases it is even the most likely explanation. But even if none of the twenty sites listed above were a *polis* state, it would not change the picture: that a Greek of the Classical period would use the word *polis* about any urban settlement which was also the political centre of a *polis* state, but not about any other kind of Greek settlement.

There are 447 Hellenic communities called *polis* in the urban sense in Archaic and Classical sources. Of these 447 urban centres 63 must be left out of consideration because there is no other source antedating ca. 300 B.C. or referring to the Archaic and/or Classical periods.⁶⁶ Consequently there is no way of having the *Lex Hafniensis* either confirmed or disproved. Of the remaining 384 attestations only twenty are problematical. If, in everyone of these twenty cases, we prefer an interpretation which contradicts our rule, it still applies in 95% of all cases, and Xenophon's reference in the *Poroi* to a *polis* of slaves in the mine district is the only case in which the rule is demonstrably contradicted.

Even assuming that some, or even all, of the twenty *poleis* listed above were not *poleis* in the political sense, that does not necessarily imply that they are exceptions to the rule. The explanation may well be that the author is simply wrong. When Theopompos calls Dystos a *polis* in the urban sense, he may have been mistaken about the site classification in *both* the urban *and* the political sense, *viz.*, Dystos was a *demos* and not a *polis* in any sense of the term, but Theopompos erroneously believed that it was. In that case the connection between the urban and the political

65 In his *Commentaire historique des Poroi de Xénophon* (Paris 1976) 188 Ph. Gauthier note how surprising it is to find *polis* used in this context: "Cela surprend d'abord, car les bourgades dispersées du Laurion, même si elles s'étaient rapidement développées, n'auraient jamais formé une ville, au sens où nous entendons ce terme."

66 The 23 sites listed in note 40 *supra* plus the 40 sites listed in note 41 *supra*.

aspect of the *polis* is not in dispute, and the error is due to Theopompos' ignorance about the social and political organisation of Euboia.

In spite of a few such possible errors, it is noteworthy that the Greeks used the term *polis* with remarkable consistency. The most notorious inconsistency is Herodotos' double classification of Alpenos and Anthele as both *poleis* and *komai* to which we can probably add some of the sites called *polis* in one source but known from other sources as a civic subdivision. There was a grey zone between *polis* and civic subdivision, be it a *demos* or a *kome* or a *phyle* etc. But the grey zone seems to have been remarkably small, much smaller than the contemporary grey zone between what is a state and what is not a state. Today we have truly independent states, members of the EU, member states of federations, protectorates, autonomous regions, and colonies. And yet we can claim "that there has been a surprisingly broad area of agreement about what constitutes the essential elements of the modern state."⁶⁷

IV

The *Lex Hafniensis* testifies to one side of the close connection between the urban and political aspects of the concept of *polis*, viz., every *polis* town was the urban centre of a *polis* state. The other side is the converted proposition: that every *polis* state was centred on a *polis* town. It does, of course, apply in the 384 cases listed above. But there were hundreds of other communities attested in our sources as *polis* states without any mention of whether they had an urban centre which deserved to be called *polis* in the sense of town. It remains to be tested whether these *polis* states too had a *polis* town as their urban centre. That can be done by investigating (a) whether Archaic and Classical sources include information about a major nucleated centre within the territory of the *polis*, a centre not explicitly called a *polis* in any surviving source, but perhaps called an *asty* or described as a walled nucleated settlement of some size. In that case we can infer that it must be due to the haphazard nature of our sources that this urban centre is not explicitly attested as a *polis*. One example is Larisa in Thessaly. It is mentioned as a *polis* in the political sense (Thuc. 2.22.3), there are virtually no visible remains of an ancient city antedating the Hellenistic period,⁶⁸ but Larisa is explicitly called *asty* by Theophrastos at *Caus. Pl.* 5.14.3, and *asty* is a term exclusively used about urban settlements which could be called *poleis* as well, see *CPCActs* 4 (1997) 58–60. Next (b) we must investigate whether, within the territory of a community attested as *polis* in the political sense, there are significant archaeological remains of a town indicating that it must have been considered a *polis* in the urban sense. One example is Taras, called *polis* in the political sense by Theopompos (fr. 233) but unattested as a *polis* in the urban sense.⁶⁹

67 C. Pierson, *The Modern State* (London 1996) 6.

68 T.S. Mac Kay, "Larissa," in *The Princeton Encyclopedia of Classical Sites* (Princeton 1976) 485.

69 The only written evidence that Taras was an urban centre is the reference to a *theorodokos* at *IG* IV² 95.II.44.

The archaeological record,⁷⁰ however, leaves no doubt that the missing piece of information could have been found in the lost works of, e.g., Antiochos of Syracuse or Aristoxenos of Tarent.

During these two investigations we will, of course, come across many a *polis* for which – for the time being – the answer has to be a *non liquet*. One example is Kleitor in Arkadia. It is attested as *polis* in the political sense by Xenophon at *Hellenika* 5.4.37. There is no attestation of *polis* in the urban sense; there is no description in any classical source of Kleitor as an urban centre, and – so far – the archaeological remains, including the defence circuit, cannot with any confidence be brought back beyond the Hellenistic period.⁷¹

What can be concluded from these investigations remains to be seen, but the material studied until now indicates that, in the late Archaic and Classical periods, every political unit called *polis* in the sense of “state” seems to have been centred on a nucleated settlement which the Greeks called a *polis* in the sense of town.

What we investigate when we test the *lex Hafniensis* as well as the inverted proposition is, of course, the ancient Greeks’ own understanding of what a *polis* was, both as an urban settlement and as a political community. As already pointed out in the beginning of this study it is a different issue whether or not a modern historian is entitled to apply the term “city” to an urban centre which the Greeks called a *polis*, and the term “state” to a political unit which the Greeks called a *polis*.⁷²

If our ongoing investigation of the inverted *lex Hafniensis* leads to the same positive results as the investigation of the *lex* itself, we shall have disproved another assumption commonly made about the *polis*: that there were numerous *poleis* which had no urban centre at all;⁷³ and combining our two propositions we hope to have substantiated the extended version of the *lex Hafniensis*, i.e. that, as far as our sources go, every Greek *polis* town was the urban centre of a *polis* state and every Greek *polis* state was centred on a *polis* town.

Some historians have apparently been baffled by our use of the term *lex*.⁷⁴ I confess that I have not been careful enough to explain precisely what I meant when

70 See E. Greco, “Dal territorio alla città: lo sviluppo urbano di Taranto,” *AION* 3 (1981) 139–57.

71 F.E. Winter, “Arkadian Notes II: The Walls of Mantinea, Orchomenos and Kleitor,” *EMC* 33 (1989) 189–200.

72 *Supra* p. 174 with notes 4 and 5.

73 For this view see, e.g., C.G. Starr, *The Economic and Social Growth of Early Greece 800–500* (New York 1977) 98; F. Kolb, *Die Stadt im Altertum* (München 1984) 59, 66; N. Demand, *A History of Ancient Greece* (New York 1996) 99.

74 E.g. A. Chaniotis in his review in *BMCR* (1997) 726–38 of *CPCActs* 3 (1996) and *CPCPapers* 3 (1996). After a section with a basically appreciative description of our own problematisation of the method we use in the Copenhagen Polis Centre he states (728): “The problems begin only when Hansen declares the common usage of the term *polis* (a town which is the political center of a polis) to be a law (the “*lex Hafniensis de civitate*”), thus raising the expectations of absolute consistency,” and again on page 738: “One may disagree in details or be reluctant to accept the working hypotheses and the first general conclusions of the project as “laws” with absolute and unlimited value, but no serious research in Greek history can ignore the publications of the CPC.”

I invented the label "*Lex Hafniensis*," and I take this opportunity to explain it.⁷⁵ The "*Lex Hafniensis*" is not meant to be a law "with absolute and unlimited value" to which there is no exception. The "*Lex Hafniensis*" is neither a law like Kepler's three laws, nor is it a law in the legal sense of a rule the breaking of which is forbidden and penalised. It is rather an observation of how the Greeks of the late Archaic and Classical periods used the word *polis*. But, as every linguist has to admit, in semantics there is no such thing as a law in the strict sense. There is no word in any language which, unfailingly, is used in the senses of either A, or B or C, and invariably denotes X in sense A, Y in sense B, and Z in sense C. Nevertheless it is quite common in linguistics and related disciplines to speak about laws, such as Wheeler's Law in phonetics,⁷⁶ Porson's Law in metrics,⁷⁷ and Blass's Law in rhetoric,⁷⁸ to mention three examples from the study of ancient Greek.

Let me illustrate the point by quoting Porson's Law. It relates to the iambic trimetre as used in early iambics and in tragedy and, in Martin West's formulation, it runs as follows: "when the anceps of the third metron is occupied by a long syllable, this syllable and the one following belong to the same word, unless one of them is a monosyllable." Thus, according to Porson's Law, the beginning of a new word is avoided after the anceps of the third metron when the anceps is long. We expect this law to be respected as strictly as possible, but occasionally our expectations are confounded. West notes that "there are very few exceptions in tragedy, most of them textually suspect." Porson's Law is an important observation about the iambic trimetre in tragedy, but not a rule to which there is no exception.

Similarly the *Lex Hafniensis* is an observation about how the Greeks used the word *polis*, but not a law without exceptions. There is at least one unquestionable exception, viz. Xen. *Vect.* 4.50, see *supra* p. 201. There are indications of some other exceptions, but the pattern we have discovered in how the ancient Greeks used the term *polis* is so consistent that, in our opinion, it deserves to be called a "law" just like Porson's and Blass's and scores of other "laws" discovered by scholars who have studied the ancient texts. What, perhaps, I ought to have done is from the outset to make it crystal clear what I meant by calling the observation a law.

V

As an appendix to the consolidated list of all the *polis* towns listed in all the individual investigations I print here an update of some of the earlier studies as well as surveys of the examples found in Aristotle and in the remaining part of Xenophon's works.

75 The following section is, basically, an abbreviated version of my reply to Chanotis in *BMCR* 1998.

76 Ch. Bally, *Manuel d'accentuation grecque* (Bern 1945) 24.

77 M.L. West, *Introduction to Greek Metre* (Oxford 1987) 25.

78 See D.F. McCabe, *The Prose-Rhythm of Demosthenes* (New York 1981) 1.

HEKATAIOS (CPCPAPERS 4 [1997] 17–27)

- Therme Called a πόλις Ἑλλήνων Θρηκῶν. As a mixed Graeco-barbarian settlement it ought to be included among the *poleis* covered by our investigation. The slight evidence we have for Therme as a political community is discussed *supra* p. 144.

HERODOTOS (CPCAActs 3 [1996] 39–54)

Apart from some *addenda et corrigenda* I want to include (a) Adramyttion, Ichnai and Pella, and (b) Kallipolis, Leontinoi and Naxos (in Sicily).

Re (a). According to the tradition (Strabo 13.1.65; Steph. Byz. 27.5–6) Adramyttion was originally a Lydian foundation. In 422 it was given to the Delians by Farnakes (Thuc. 5.1.1; Diod. 12.73.1) and in *RE* I 404 Hirschfeld inferred that, before 422, it was a barbarian settlement, see *CPCAActs* 3 (1996) 71 n. 168. The date of its Hellenisation is still a moot point and, on reflection, I now prefer to include it as a possible Greek *polis*. Pella and Ichnai, both called *polis* by Herodotos at 7.123.3, came under Macedonian rule only after the Persian Wars. Before that they were probably “mixed Graeco-barbarian settlements”, see M. Hatzopoulos, *Macedonian Institutions under the Kings* I (Athens 1996) 106–7. Thus, they had a status similar to that of the *poleis* on Akte (cf. Thuc. 4.109.3–4) and should not be excluded from this investigation.

Re (b). At 7.154.2 τῶν δὲ εἶπον πολίων πασέων refers back to πολιορκέοντος τὰρ Ἰπποκράτεος Καλλιπολίτας τε καὶ Ναξίους καὶ Ζαγκλαίους τε καὶ Λεοντίνους ... Since all these *poleis* are identified by their city-ethnic, πολίων must be interpreted as an instance of the personal-political sense. On the other hand, πολιορκέοντος shows that the urban sense is a connotation. In 1996 I classified the passage as an instance of the political sense only. I now prefer to classify the passage as one of those in which πόλις is used in the political and in the urban sense simultaneously. Accordingly, Kallipolis, Naxos and Leontinoi must now be added to the list of towns explicitly called *polis* in Herodotos, and 7.154.2 must be added to the five other attestations of Zankle as a *polis* in the urban sense.

- | | |
|-------------|---|
| Abai | An <i>archon</i> in Abai and the ethnic Ἀβαῖος is attested in a sales document of 138 BC (<i>F. Delphes</i> III 2 230.5,7). |
| Adramyttion | 7.42.1, constitution described in one of the Aristotelian <i>politeiai</i> (Arist. fr. 473, Gigon); Ἀδραμυττανός (<i>IG</i> VII 2860.3, C41); struck coins in C4f (Head 520; <i>I. Adramytteion</i> II pp. 193–6). |
| Aigaiai | Referred to as a <i>polis</i> in the political sense at 1.150.2. |
| Aigiroessa | Referred to as a <i>polis</i> in the political sense at 1.150.2. |
| Aiolidai | 8.35.1, called <i>polis</i> in the urban as well as in the political sense, see <i>supra</i> p. 176. |
| Antikyra | Struck coins inscribed AN (= ANTIKYPEΩN?) from ca. 339 BC (Head, <i>HN</i> ² 339). Called <i>polis</i> in the political sense in a C2 honorary decree (<i>IG</i> IX 1 1.3). |

Aphytis	Referred to as a <i>polis</i> in the political sense at Arist. <i>Pol.</i> 1319a10 & 14–9.
Apollonia (Pontos)	Called <i>polis</i> in the political sense at Arist. <i>Pol.</i> 1303a26 & 36–8.
Artake	Ἀρτακεῖοι in the Athenian tribute lists (<i>IG</i> I ³ 259.VI.8).
Byzantion	Called <i>polis</i> in the political sense by Xenophon at <i>Anab.</i> 7.1.27.
Charadra	Recorded as a <i>polis</i> in the political sense in the accounts of the Delphic <i>naopoioi</i> of the 350s B.C. (<i>CID</i> II 8.I.5, cf. 4.I.14).
Daulis	8.35.1, called <i>polis</i> in the urban as well as in the political sense both here and at <i>Hell. Oxy.</i> 21.5, Chambers, see <i>supra</i> p. 146.
Drymos	Called <i>polis</i> in the political sense in a decree of C2s (<i>IG</i> IX 1 226).
Elateia	Called <i>polis</i> in the political sense in a C4 public dedication (<i>CEG</i> II 807).
Erochos	Ξενοπειθ[ης] Ἐ[ρῶ]χός recorded as a witness to a payment of 30 talents made by the Phokians in 339/8 (<i>CID</i> II 38.15).
Galepsos	A coin inscribed ΓΑΛΗΨΙΩΝ has been ascribed to Galepsos mentioned by Herodotos (V. Demetriadi, “Galepsus in Chalcidice: A Newly Discovered Mint,” <i>Num. Chron.</i> 3 [1974] 32–3), but belongs, rather, to Galepsos in the Thasian <i>peraia</i> (M. Hatzopoulos, in conversation).
Gonnos	Called <i>polis</i> in the political sense in a public dedication from ca. 300 B.C. (<i>SEG</i> 35 566.1).
Gryneia	Referred to as a <i>polis</i> in the political sense at 1.150.2.
Hyampolis	Called <i>polis</i> in the urban sense at <i>Hell. Oxy.</i> 21.5, Chambers. The citizens of Hyampolis recorded as guarantors of a loan, c.450–25 B.C. (<i>SEG</i> 37 422).
Hyele	The city-ethnic Ἐλεάτ[η]ς attested in a C4 dedication (<i>IG</i> IV ² 258); struck coins ca. 540 onwards (Head 88–90).
Ichnai	7.123.3, called <i>polis</i> in the political sense in an undated treaty between Ichnai and Dikaia (A. Struck in <i>AM</i> 27 [1902] 305–20); coins struck ca. 500–480 B.C. (Head, <i>HN</i> ² 199).
Kallipolis	7.154.2, Sicilian colony founded by Naxos (Strabo 6.2.6; Ps.-Scymnus 283–6). For its status as a <i>polis</i> in both the urban and the political sense, see <i>supra</i> p. 205.
Kampsa	Some late Archaic coins inscribed KA (Head, <i>HN</i> ² 212) have been ascribed to Kampsa, see P. Flensted-Jensen, <i>The Poleis of the Chalkidic Peninsula until the Macedonian Conquest</i> (unpublished diss. 1998) 75–6.
Karkinitis	4.55.1; 4.99.2, coins struck in C4 (Price in <i>SNG</i> IX British Museum [1993] nos. 693–5)

Killa	Referred to as a <i>polis</i> in the political sense at 1.150.2.
Kyme (Aiolis)	Referred to as a <i>polis</i> in the political sense at 1.150.2.
Larisa (Aiolis)	Delete: Xen. <i>Hell.</i> 3.1.13. Add: referred to as a <i>polis</i> in the political sense at 1.150.2; coins struck in C4 (Head, <i>HN</i> ² 555).
Leontinoi	7.154.2, Sicilian colony founded by Chalkidians from Naxos (Thuc. 6.3.3), called <i>polis</i> in the political sense by Aristotle at <i>Pol.</i> 1316a35–9. For its status as a <i>polis</i> in both the urban and the political sense, see <i>supra</i> p. 205.
Myrina	Referred to as a <i>polis</i> in the political sense at 1.150.2.
Naxos	7.154.2, Sicilian colony founded by Chalkis (Thuc. 6.3.1). For its status as a <i>polis</i> in both the urban and the political sense, see <i>supra</i> p. 205.
Neonteichos	Referred to as a <i>polis</i> in the political sense at 1.150.2. Mentioned by Xenophon at <i>Anab.</i> 7.5.8, but without any site-classification. Coins struck in C2 (Head, <i>HN</i> ² 556).
Notion (Aiolis)	Referred to as a <i>polis</i> in the political sense at 1.150.2.
Panopeis	8.35.1, called <i>polis</i> in the urban as well as in the political sense, see <i>supra</i> pp. 175–6.
Parapotamioi	referred to as a <i>polis</i> in the political sense at <i>Hell. Oxy.</i> 21.5, Chambers.
Pedasa	<i>IG</i> I ³ 259.III.5; Πηδασεύς at <i>Syll.</i> ³ 46.142.
Pella	7.123.3. At Xen. <i>Hell.</i> 5.2.13 Pella is called <i>polis</i> principally in the urban sense, but possibly in the political sense too. The first indisputable attestation of Pella as a <i>polis</i> in the political sense is in an asyilia decree for Kos (<i>SEG</i> 12 374.9, C3m). For the inclusion of Pella as a Greek <i>polis</i> , see <i>supra</i> p. 205.
Pistynos	The <i>polis</i> mentioned by Herodotos should now be distinguished from the <i>emporion</i> mentioned by Steph. Byz., see <i>BCH</i> 118 (1994) 5–7.
Pitane	Referred to as a <i>polis</i> in the political sense at 150.2.
Posideion	Struck coins in C4 (<i>BCH</i> 110 [1986] 400–03).
Salamis (Cyprus)	5.104.3, called <i>polis</i> in the political sense at Isoc. 3.32; 9.20 etc.
Sale	Σάλε (<i>IG</i> I ³ 77.V.31).
Sane	The Sane mentioned in the Peace of Nikias (Thuc. 5.18.5) and recorded in the Athenian tribute lists (<i>IG</i> I ³ 260.VIII.19 etc.) is possibly Sane in Pallene, and not Sane in Athos, see P. Flensted-Jensen, <i>The Poleis of the Chalkidic Peninsula until the Macedonian Conquest</i> (unpublished diss. 1998) 137–8.
Smyrna	1.150.1.
Sparta	At 7.234.2 <i>polis</i> is used in the urban and in the political sense simultaneously.

Temnos	Referred to as a <i>polis</i> in the political sense at 1.150.2.
Tethronion	Called <i>polis</i> in the political sense in the accounts of the Delphic <i>naopoioi</i> of 358 B.C. (<i>CID</i> II 5.II.25 & 50).
Thera	Called <i>polis</i> in the political sense at Arist. <i>Pol.</i> 1290b11–2.
Therme	7.127.1; 179.1, see <i>supra</i> p. 144.
Trachis	The only other source explicitly referring to old Trachis is Strabo who says that it was six stades removed from Herakleia Trachinia (9.4.13).
Tritaia	Called <i>polis</i> in the political sense in a treaty between Chaleion and Tritaia of C41–C3e (<i>IG</i> IX ² 739).
Zankle	7.154.2, see <i>supra</i> p. 205.

THUCYDIDES (CPCActs 2 [1995] 39–45)

Thucydides was the first author to be studied, and collecting the evidence in 1993 I took a minimalist view. I concentrated on passages in which town was the obvious meaning, and left out a number of passages in which the urban sense was a possible or perhaps even a probable connotation. To be on the safe side I list here the passages I had first omitted.

Abdera	2.97.1, called <i>polis</i> in the political sense at Anakreon fr. 100, Diehl.
Amphipolis	4.106.3; 5.21.2.
Anthene	See Shipley in <i>CPCActs</i> 4 (1997) 226.
Antissa	Called <i>polis</i> in the political sense at Arist. <i>Pol.</i> 1303a26 & 34.
Athenai	2.22.1, 6.82.4, 8.54.4.
Chalkis (Aitol)	May have struck coins in C4.
Herakleia Trach.	5.51.2bis, where <i>polis</i> is used in the urban sense and the political sense simultaneously.
Ialysos	Called <i>polis</i> in the political sense at Hdt. 1.144.3.
Kamios	Called <i>polis</i> in the political sense at Hdt. 1.144.3.
Kerkyra	4.48.4. ..
Kranai	2.30.2: κεῖται δὲ ἡ Κεφαλληνία κατὰ Ἀκαρνανίαν καὶ Λευκάδα τετράπολις οὖσα, Παλιῆς, Κράνιοι, Σαμαῖοι, Προναῖοι. For τετράπολις indicating the urban sense, see <i>supra</i> n. 3. That the political sense is at least a connotation is indicated by the use of ethnics instead of toponyms. All four <i>poleis</i> struck coins in the Classical period (Head 426–8).
Kyme (Aiolis)	3.31.1, called <i>polis</i> in the political sense at Hdt. 5.37.1–2.
Kytinion	Read: Aeschin. 2.116.
Leontinoi	5.4.3.
Lindos	Called <i>polis</i> in the political sense at Hdt. 1.144.3.

Lokroi	Called <i>polis</i> in the political sense at 3.86.2; 6.44.2 and in inscriptions (<i>I. Locris</i> 1–39).
Methone	See Shipley in <i>CPCActs</i> 4 (1997) 243–4.
Mytilene	3.35.1.
Naxos (Sicily)	6.3.1.
Orobiai	3.89.2, see <i>infra</i> .
Pale	2.30.2, see <i>supra</i> s.v. Kranai.
Pharsalos	Called <i>polis</i> in the political sense at 2.22.3.
Plataiai	2.72.3, 2.78.1,
Pronnoi	2.30.2, see <i>supra</i> s.v. Kranai.
Rhegion	Called <i>polis</i> in the political sense at 3.86.2
Same	2.30.2, see <i>supra</i> s.v. Kranai.
Skandeia	See <i>CPCActs</i> 2 (1995) 43–4; <i>CPCActs</i> 3 (1996) 29; <i>CPCActs</i> 4 (1997) 228, and <i>supra</i> p. 195.
Spartolos	Called <i>polis</i> in the political sense in the Peace of Nikias (5.18.5).
Stratos	Called <i>polis</i> in the political sense in a decree of C51 (<i>IG</i> IX ² 390.1).
Syrakousai	7.13.1.
Thasos	8.64.4.
Thyrea	See Shipley in <i>CPCActs</i> 4 (1997) 230–1.

Orobiai: At 3.89.2 Orobiai is described as a *polis* which was partly engulfed by the great seismic sea wave of 426 B.C. We know from other sources that a great part of Histiaia was destroyed by the same disaster (Demetrias of Kallatis [*FGrHist* 85] fr. 6). An Attic inscription of ca. 430–10 shows that Orobiai was situated in the territory of Histiaia (*IG* I³ 418a.6). The ethnic Ὀροβιεύς is attested in a C5 inscription (*IG* XII 9 923.2–3, *AE* [1963] 5). We know that Histiaia was organised into tribes and demes (Tod, *GHI* 141.10, ca. 364 B.C.). But the stone inscribed with *IG* XII 9 923 was found in Chalkis, not in the Histiaia-Oreos area, and that points to the ethnic being a city-ethnic rather than a demotic. In Hellenistic inscriptions from the Histiaia-Oreos area, however, Ὀροβιεύς is attested again, and now indisputably as a demotic (*IG* XII 9 1186.3; 1189.27, 37). In Hellenistic inscriptions are attested some thirty other demotics from Histiaia/Oreos⁷⁹ including Διεύς (*IG* XII 9 1187.3), Ἀθηνίτης (*IG* XII 9 1186.2), and Ποσειδῆτης (*IG* XII 9 1189.20, 28, 39). Now, in the Athenian tribute lists both Dion and Athenai Diades are attested alongside Histiaia as members of the Delian League (e.g. *IG* I³ 263.IV.31: Διεύς, 32: Ἀθῆναι Διάδε[ς], 33: [Γ]πυνηξ, 34: [ησσ]ταιῆ[ς], 450/49 B.C.). Again, Ποσίδειον ἐν Εὐβοίαι is recorded in the assessment decree of 425/4 (*IG* I³ 71.I.91–2) but does not appear in any of the tribute lists. Similarly, both the Διῆς and the Ἀθηναῖται are recorded in the Charter of the Second Athenian Naval League of 378/7 (*IG* II² 43.88, 90) while the

79 See N. Jones, *Public Organization in Ancient Greece* (Philadelphia 1987) 77–8.

[Ἑσ]τιαίωνες are recorded somewhat later (B18). It also appears from an inscription which regulates the relation between Athens and Histiaia after the conquest in 446/5 that Histiaia, Dion, Athenai Diades (restored) and Hellopia are treated as four separate circuits of jurisdiction (*IG* I³ 41.100–5).

After the suppression of the Euboian revolt in 446 B.C. Histiaia was made an Athenian colony (Thuc. 1.114.3; 7.57.2), and the Histiaians were forced to emigrate to Macedonia (Theopomp. fr. 387). The Athenian colonists must have been expelled again in 405/4 B.C. According to Theopompos the Athenian colonists were placed in Oreos, formerly a deme of Histiaia. The sources cited above indicate that a number of what were later Histiaian demes were originally independent or, perhaps, semi-independent political units, namely: Athenai Diades, Dion, Poseidion, and perhaps some others as well.⁸⁰ Thus, telling the foundation myth of Athenai Diades, Ephoros describes it as a *polis* (*FGrHist* 70 fr. 24). In the course of the 4th and 3rd centuries all these communities became Histiaian demes – or perhaps: became Histiaian demes once again – as demonstrated by the demotics attested in the Hellenistic inscriptions. The attestation at *IG* XII,9 923 of an Ὀροβιεύς outside Histiaian territory indicates that Orobiai may have been one such community and that in the second half of the fifth century it was a (dependent) *polis* lying in Histiaian territory.

To conclude: at Thuc. 3.89.2 *polis* is used in the urban sense about Orobiai, but may well denote what was then a (dependent) *polis* in the political sense. If so, it was a *polis* lying inside the territory of a larger *polis*, for which see *CPCPapers* 4 (1997) 31.

XENOPHON, HELL. (CPCPAPERS 2 [1995] 83–102)

Akanthos	5.2.11: ἐξ Ἀκάνθου δὲ καὶ Ἀπολλωνίας, αἵπερ μέγιστα τῶν περὶ Ὀλυνθον πόλεων, πρέσπεις ἀφίκοντο εἰς Λακεδαίμονα. Here <i>polis</i> is used principally in the political sense, but the use of toponyms instead of ethnics indicates that the urban sense is a connotation.
Akragas	Called <i>polis</i> in the political sense at Thuc. 7.46.1.
Apollonia	5.2.11, see Akanthos <i>supra</i> .
Atarneus	To be deleted. The passage at 3.2.11 runs: ἐπισκοπῶν δὲ τὰς πόλεις ἑώρα τὰ μὲν ἄλλα καλῶς ἐχούσας, Χίων δὲ φυγάδας ἦρεν Ἀταρνέα ἔχοντας χωρίον ἰσχυρόν, ... Here <i>polis</i> seems to be used in the political sense and is to be taken with Χίων only, not with Ἀταρνέα.
Gambrion	A πρύτανις is attested in an inscription of 326/5 (<i>Syll.</i> ³ 302).
Hamaxitos	At 3.1.13 <i>polis</i> is used in the urban and in the political sense simultaneously.
Himera	Called <i>polis</i> in the urban sense and the political sense simultaneously at Thuc. 6.62.2

Kolonai	At 3.1.13 <i>polis</i> is used in the urban and in the political sense simultaneously.
Kyzikos	Called <i>polis</i> in the political sense at Hdt. 4.15.1.
Lampsakos	Called <i>polis</i> in the political sense in an honorary decree of ca. 300 B.C. (<i>I.Lampsakos</i> 1).
Larisa	At 3.1.13 <i>polis</i> is used in the urban and in the political sense simultaneously.
Myrina	Page 92 line 7 read: <i>IG</i> I ³ 71.I.179
Orchomenos (Arkadia)	6.5.11, called <i>polis</i> in the political sense at 5.4.37.
Pergamon	In Mysia (Xen. <i>Anab.</i> 7.8.8); struck coins ca. 440–350 (Head 532).
Skepsis	Σκάψοι (IG I ³ 261.IV.27).

Ps.-SKYLAX (CPCPAPERS 3 [1997] 137–67)

Agora	To be identified with the Thracian Chersonesos, see <i>CPCPapers</i> 4 (1997) 21–2.
Aloros	66, the individual use of the city-ethnic is attested in Diod. 15.71.1 (r368 B.C.) and in Arr. <i>Ind.</i> 18.6 (r325 B.C.).
Ambrakia	Called <i>polis</i> in the political sense at Thuc. 3.113.6; 7.25.9.
Antissa	97, Member of the Second Athenian Naval League (<i>IG</i> II ² 43B.20); a tyrant of Antissa expelled by Alexander the Great (Dem. 17.7); struck coins from ca. 300 B.C. (Head, <i>HN</i> ² 559–60).
Atarneus	Treaty between Hermias of Atarneus and Erythrai, ca. 350 B.C. (Tod, <i>GHI</i> 165); The ethnic Ἀταρνεΐτης is attested at Hdt. 6.4.1.
Boia	See Shipley in <i>CPCActs</i> 4 (1997) 226–7.
Chalkedon	Called <i>polis</i> in the political sense at Arist. <i>Oec.</i> 1347b20.
Chersonesos (Taur.)	Called <i>polis</i> both in the urban and in the political sense in the civic oath of C4–C3 (<i>Syll.</i> ³ 360). For the date see <i>DGE</i> 173.
Emporion	The city-ethnic Ἐμπορίταισιν is attested in a business letter of ca. 530–500 B.C. (<i>SEG</i> 37 838.3).
Epidauros	See Shipley in <i>CPCActs</i> 4 (1997) 227.
Limera	97, Called <i>polis</i> in the political sense in the judgement <i>IG</i> XII 2 526A.27 <i>et alibi</i> , C4s.
Eresos	
Halia	Called <i>polis</i> in the political sense in the cure inscriptions from Epidauros (<i>IG</i> IV ² 122.69–82).

Heloros	<i>Theorodokos</i> recorded in the Delphic list of C31 (<i>BCH</i> 45 [1921] IV.100).
Hesperides	The city-ethnic Εὐσπερίτης is attested in a proxeny decree of C4s (<i>SEG</i> 18 772.5).
Ikos	See Reger in <i>CPCActs</i> 4 (1997) 483 n. 25.
Ios	Called <i>polis</i> in the political sense in the accounts of the Delian amphiktyones of 377–3 (<i>IG</i> II ² 1635A.11 & 13).
Kios	Called <i>polis</i> in the political sense in honorary decrees of C4 (<i>I.Kios</i> 1–2).
Kydonia	Called <i>polis</i> in the political sense in a dedication of C4f (<i>SEG</i> 33 735).
Kyllene	See <i>supra</i> p. 196.
Kynos	60, accepting the conjecture Κῦνος Ὅποϋς of Ms: Κυνόσουρος.
Las	See Shipley in <i>CPCActs</i> 4 (1997) 228–9.
Leukai	Founded as a <i>polis</i> 383/2 B.C. (Diod. 15.18.1–2).
Lissa	The earliest references to Lissa as a <i>polis</i> in the political sense are some unpublished inscriptions of C3–C2 (Paula Perlman <i>per epist.</i>).
Magnesia (Maiandr.)	Delete: coins .. (Head 652–3). Add: Called <i>polis</i> in the political sense in an honorary decree of 325–275 B.C. (<i>SEG</i> 14 459.7), constitution described in one of the Aristotelian <i>politeiai</i> (Arist. no. 106, Gigon);
Makistos	Citizenship decree of C4f (<i>SEG</i> 35 389, see Heine Nielsen in <i>CPCPapers</i> 4 (1997) 149.
Megara (Sicily)	Theognis referred to as a πολίτης of Megara (Pl. <i>Lg.</i> 630A).
Methana	To be deleted. Methana is “either a corrupt reference to Antene or misplaced from Argolic section where the real Methana is missing.” (Shipley in <i>CPCActs</i> 4 [1997] 226).
Massalia	Called <i>polis</i> in the political sense at Arist. <i>Pol.</i> 1305b4–5.
Methymna	97, called <i>polis</i> in the political sense in a treaty with Athens of 378/7 (<i>IG</i> II ² 42.23).
Mytilene	Called <i>polis</i> in the political sense in a treaty with Athens (<i>IG</i> II ² 213.12–3).
Nauplia	See <i>supra</i> p. 196.
Notion (Ionia)	Referred to as a <i>polis</i> in the political sense at Arist. <i>Pol.</i> 1303b9–10, see <i>supra</i> p. 147.
Opous	60, see <i>supra</i> s.v. Kynos, called <i>polis</i> in the political sense at Pind. <i>Ol.</i> 9.33.
Panormos	On Peparethos, see Reger in <i>CPCActs</i> 4 (1997) 483 n. 25.
Patara	The only author to call Patara a <i>polis</i> in the political sense is Aelian <i>VH</i> 1.25, r334 B.C.

Pharos	Called <i>polis</i> in the political sense in a funerary epigram of C41–C3e (<i>SEG</i> 31 604).
Phasis	Described as a <i>polis</i> with an <i>emporion</i> at Hippoc. <i>Aer.</i> 15, see <i>CPCPapers</i> 4 (1997) 86.
Pithekoussa	See Hansen in <i>CPCPapers</i> 4 (1997) 99–100.
Pordoselene	Called <i>polis</i> in the political sense in an honorary decree of ca. 318 (<i>I.Adramytteion</i> 34).
Pydna	Called <i>polis</i> in both the urban and the political sense at Din. 1.14 = 3.17.
Salamis	Called <i>polis</i> in the political sense at Pind. <i>Isth.</i> 5.48, see <i>infra</i> p. 215.
Salamis (Cyprus)	Delete: Hdt. 5.104.3. Add: Called <i>polis</i> in the political sense sense at Isoc. 3.32; 9.20 etc.
Selinous	On Peparethos, see Reger in <i>CPCActs</i> 4 (1997) 483 n. 25.
Skiathos	See Reger in <i>CPCActs</i> 4 (1997) 483 n. 25.
Soloi (Cyprus)	Called <i>polis</i> in the political sense at Solon fr. 7.2, Diehl.
Telmessos	Citizenship decree of the classical period (<i>TAM</i> II 2).
Therme	66, see <i>supra</i> pp. 144–5.
Thourioi	Called <i>polis</i> in the political sense at Arist. <i>Pol.</i> 1303a26 & 31–3.

XENOPHON, VARIA

Athenai	<i>Mem.</i> 3.1.1; 3.6.14; 3.11.1; <i>Oec.</i> 11.14bis; <i>Vect.</i> 4.47.
Ephesos	<i>Xen. Ages.</i> 1.25–6: συνήγαγε πᾶν τὸ στράτευμα εἰς Ἐφεσον ... ἀξίαν δὲ καὶ ὅλην τὴν πόλιν ἐν ᾗ ἦν θεὰς ἐποίησεν, called <i>polis</i> in the political sense in an honorary decree of C4f (<i>I.Délos</i> 73).
Korinthos	<i>Ages.</i> 7.6: Κορινθίων γε μὴν τῶν φευγόντων λεγόντων, ὅτι ἐνδοῖτο αὐτοῖς ἡ πόλις, καὶ μηχανὰς ἐπιδεικνύντων, αἷς πάντως ἡλιπίζον <ἄν> ἐλεῖν τὰ τεῖχη, οὐκ ἤθελε (Agesilaos) προσβάλλειν ... cf. 2.18–9bis, called <i>polis</i> in the political sense at <i>Hell.</i> 5.1.34.
Kyllene	<i>Cyrop.</i> 7.1.45: καὶ οἱ Αἰγύπτιοι τε οἱ καταμείναντες τότε ἔτι καὶ νῦν βασιλεῖ πιστοὶ διαμένουσι, Κῦρός τε πόλεις αὐτοῖς ἔδωκε, τὰς μὲν ἄνω, αἱ ἔτι καὶ νῦν πόλεις Αἰγυπτίων καλοῦνται, Λάρισαν δὲ καὶ Κυλλήνην παρὰ Κύμην πλησίον θαλάττης. <i>Polis</i> is used principally in the urban sense, but the reference to the unfailing loyalty of the Egyptians indicates that the political sense is a connotation.
Larisa	<i>Cyrop.</i> 7.1.45, quoted <i>supra</i> s.v. Kyllene.
Laureion	<i>Vect.</i> 4.50, see <i>supra</i> p. 201.

- Megara Xen. *Vect.* 4.46: ἀπέχει μὲν γὰρ δήπου τῶν Ἀργυρείων <ή> ἐγγύτατα πόλις Μέγαρα πολὺ πλεόν τῶν πεντακοσίων σταδίων. ἀπέχει δὲ ἢ μετὰ ταῦτα πλησιαίτατα Θῆβαι πολὺ πλεόν τῶν ἑξακοσίων, called *polis* in the political sense in the Megarian Memorial of the Persian War (Tod, *GHI* 1 20.15).
- Thebai Xen. *Vect.* 4.46, quoted *supra* s.v. Megara, called *polis* in the political sense at *Hell.* 3.5.8.

ARISTOTELES

- Athenai *Ath. Pol.* 15.3: νικήσας δὲ τὴν ἐπὶ Παλληνίδι μάχην καὶ λαβὼν τὴν [π]όλιν ... (Peisistratos), called *polis* in the political sense at 16.2
- Chalkedon *Oec.* 1347b20: Χαλκηδόνιοι δε, ξένων ἐν τῇ πόλει συχνῶν παρ' αὐτοῖς γινομένων ..., called *polis* in the political sense in line 29 and in *Oratores Attici*, *Adespota* fr. 8, p. 346, Sauppe.
- Elis *Mir.* 842a26: ἐν Ἡλίδι λέγουσιν εἶναι τι οἶκημα σταδίου ἀπέχον ὀκτὼ μάλιστα τῆς πόλεως ... called *polis* in the political sense at Xen. *Hell.* 7.4.15.
- Korinthos *Pol.* 1280b14: εἰ γὰρ τις καὶ συναγάγοι τοὺς τόπους εἰς ἓν, ὥστε ἄπτεσθαι τὴν Μεγαρέων πόλιν καὶ Κορινθίων τοῖς τείχεσιν, ὅμως οὐ μία πόλις, called *polis* in the political sense at Xen. *Hell.* 5.1.34.
- Krannon *Mir.* 842b11: ἐν δὲ Κράννωνι τῆς Θετταλίας φασὶ δύο κόρακας εἶναι μόνους ἐν τῇ πόλει, called *polis* in the political sense at Thuc. 2.22.3.
- Kyrene *HA* 556a23: διὸ καὶ ἐν Κυρήνῃ οὐ γίνονται ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ, περὶ δὲ τὴν πόλιν πολλοὶ (cicadas) ..., called *polis* in the political sense in the foundation decree of C7/4 (Meiggs-Lewis, *GHI* 5.3–4)
- Lipara *Met.* 367a6: τὸν φέψαλον καὶ τὴν τέφραν ἀνῆκε (the earth), καὶ τὴν τε Λιπαράων πόλιν οὔσαν οὐ πόρρω πᾶσαν κατετέφρωσε καὶ εἰς ἐνίας τῶν ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ πόλεων ἦλθεν. Lipara was a Knidian colony (Thuc. 3.88.2; Diod. 5.9.1–5) and struck coins in C4s (Head 191).
- Megara *Pol.* 1280b15, quoted *supra* s.v. Korinth, called *polis* in the political sense in the Megarian Memorial of the Persian War (Tod, *GHI* 1 20.15).
- Mylasa *Oec.* 1348a12: ἔλεγεν (Mausolos) ὅτι μητρόπολις οὔσα ἢ πόλις αὐτοῦ αὕτη ἀπείχιστος ἐστίν, called *polis* in the political sense in *I.Mylasa* 1–3.

Thourioi *Mir. 846b33*: περὶ τὴν Θούριον πόλιν δύο ποταμούς φασιν εἶναι,
called *polis* in the political sense at *Pol. 1303a26* & 31–3.

PINDAR

In Pindar's *epinikia* we must first eliminate attestations of *polis* used in a mythological context about, e.g., Troy or Elis in the Heroic Age: *Ol. 7.64* (Ialysos?); *Ol. 9.100* (Opous); *Ol. 10.46* (Elis); *Ol. 10.82* (Tiryns); *Pyth. 1.105* (Troy); *Pyth. 5.108* (Kyrene); *Pyth. 9.185* (Irasa); *Nem. 7.43, 51* (Troy); *Nem. 9.29* (Sikyon); *Nem. 10.1* (Argos); *Isth. 5.46* (Troy); *Isth. 5.61* (Salamis).

Thus, in the *epinikia* the following named cities are referred to as *poleis* in a contemporary or, at least, in a historical context, mostly in the sense of state, sometimes in the sense of town (T), sometimes in both senses simultaneously (S/T).

Aigina (*Ol. 8.114*; *Pyth. 8.141*; *Nem. 7.12*, S/T; *Isth. 5.27*; 6.95)

Aitna (*Pyth. 1.59* S/T; 119, S/T)

Akragas (*Ol. 2.169*; *Pyth. 12.1*, T)

Ialysos? (*Ol. 7.173*)

Kamarina (*Ol. 5.9*, 49)

Kyrene (*Pyth. 4.12*, T; 4.486; 5.70; 9.122)

Lokris, Epizephyrian (*Ol. 10.18*; 119)

Opous (*Ol. 9.33*)

Rhodes (*Ol. 7.33*, τρίπολις)

Thebes (*Pyth. 9.161*; 12.48, T)

Mogens Herman Hansen
Copenhagen Polis Centre

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